

The Nation

VOL. XLIV.—NO. 1140.

THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1887.

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Total Marine Premiums.....	\$5,235,300 00

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Politics, Literature, Science, and Art.

FOUNDED 1865.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 5, 1887.

The Week.

SPEAKER CARLISLE, in an interview at Louisville on Monday, gave his ideas on the subject of revenue reform and also on the next Presidency. He believes that taxation will be reduced by the next Congress as a matter of necessity, and that the tobacco tax for one thing will be repealed by nearly unanimous consent. This will take off \$30,000,000 of revenue. As Mr. Carlisle was understood to have prevented the repeal of the tobacco tax in the last Congress, his remarks at the present time carry something like positive assurance that the repeal will be carried next winter. There will still be a surplus of revenue, and since Mr. Carlisle is opposed to any meddling with the whiskey tax, it will be necessary to cut down the tariff somewhere. But of course Mr. Carlisle is no wiser than the rest of us in determining which way the wind will blow among the 401 men constituting the Senate and House of Representatives. In Mr. Carlisle's opinion, Mr. Cleveland will be renominated by the National Democratic Convention, and ought to be. He has a high opinion of the Mugwumps, and he promises them the happiness of being admitted into the Democratic party some time. He does not say who is to go out when they come in, but he probably has in mind the Old Jeffersonians, the Lifelongs, and the New York Sun.

The order, or suggestion, given by the President to the Secretary of the Interior, to grant title to a homesteader who had settled upon a piece of land included within the "indemnity limits" of the Northern Pacific Railroad, is distinctly just and undoubtedly legal. All principles of justice are violated by the withdrawal of the public lands from settlement in an indefinite way. Within the limits of the ten or twenty-mile strip of a land-grant to a railway a definite selection is made by the terms of the act, and it becomes apparent, as soon as the land is surveyed, what are the sections belonging to the railway and what are those belonging to the Government. In the "indemnity limits," which may extend as much as twenty miles beyond the land grant proper, it cannot be known what lands, if any, the railroad company may select to make good the deficiency, if any, of lands within the land grant proper. It has been customary for the General Land Office to withdraw all the lands within the indemnity limits from preemption and homestead entry until the grantee, the railroad company, has made its selection, and of course the withdrawal operates to prevent anybody from acquiring title there. The Attorney-General could not fail to decide, as he did in this case, that the settler, Miller, had not, as a matter of fact, acquired title, the lands not being open to entry. The President now suggests to the Secretary of the Interior that he exercise such power and discretion as may belong to him to cure the defects in Miller's entry. Of course this ruling will govern

in all similar cases hereafter. It is worth remembering that an opportunity to restore some four million acres of the Northern Pacific land grant to the public domain, without dispute or litigation, was given to the last Congress, but that the bill introduced for this purpose was "jumped upon" by one lot of demagogues after another, some wanting to forfeit the Cascade branch grant, and others the whole grant from the Missouri River westward, until it became so loaded down with amendments that nothing could pass.

The reader of Mr. Huntington's testimony before the Pacific Railroad Commission last week must be struck with a sense of the loss suffered by the nation in the death of the Hon. Richard Franchot, a man to whom any amount of money could be trusted without accounts, or vouchers, or even any inquiry on the part of those who supplied it as to its disbursement. Such men are seldom found anywhere, least of all in Washington city. The difference between Mr. Huntington and Mr. Franchot, according to the testimony of the former, was very much in Mr. Franchot's favor, because Mr. Huntington rendered an account for all the money he disbursed, thus putting himself in the category of those who must be subjected to the revision and scrutiny of auditors and comptrollers, whereas Franchot was never asked for a voucher. Such touching confidence would never be believed if it were not sworn to in the manner following:

Q. Would you pay the sum of \$5,000 without taking a voucher? A. Yes.

Q. Without knowing where it went? A. I should know it was right if I gave it to Gen. Franchot.

Q. Would you know how it was expended? A. No. There were certain things to be done. I knew he was a man of the strictest integrity—as pure a man as ever lived—and when he said, "I want \$10,000," I knew it was proper and let him have it.

Q. Without knowing how it was to be used? A. Yes; that's my way of doing business. I believe in the familiar couplet,

Trust all in all,
Or trust not at all.

That is my way.

We find, by reference to the political almanac, that this incomparable man represented the Nineteenth District of New York in the Thirty-seventh Congress, 1861-3.

The *Times* on Wednesday week had an interview with Father McGlynn, the contents of which it amplified on Thursday in an interview with another person, professing to give the true inwardness of the support given to Blaine by the Catholics in this State in 1884. That Blaine received this support, there never has been any doubt. It was thus, and thus only, that he was able to creep up so near Cleveland in the final count. The reason why has always been shrouded in more or less mystery; that is, it has never been clearly explained what Blaine's *quid pro quo* was to be, in case he got into the White House, beyond general favor to Catholic views of politics and morals. Father McGlynn's explanation of the hostility of Archbishop Corrigan, and other Catholic

prelates in this State, to Mr. Cleveland, is that he vetoed the bills appropriating money for the Catholic House of Refuge and for the Catholic Protectory. This, if true, however, only confirms a long-standing report. The oddest feature in the canvass of 1884 was the tenderness which broke out between Blaine and the *Tribune* and the dynamite faction of the Irish headed by Pat. Ford.

Mr. Blaine's Western trip served the excellent purpose of giving an opportunity for discovering the drift of sentiment in the Republican party regarding his candidacy in 1888. Just before he went out to the Indian Territory there had been a sort of "experience meeting" among the editors of Republican organs in that part of the country. The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* led off with the explicit statement that "the Republicans certainly cannot defeat Cleveland in 1888 if they again confront him with the candidate which they put in the field in 1884." Other Republican papers, among them the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, the *Burlington Hawkeye*, the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, and the *Keokuk Gate City*, endorsed the *Globe-Democrat's* conclusion. Time enough has elapsed to develop dissent from this opinion among the Western Republican press if it existed, without bringing it to light. On the contrary, the revolt appears to be gaining strength. The *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, in commenting upon the Rhode Island election the other day, remarked: "Nobody knows where the spirit of independence will break out next; but it lies very near the surface in every Republican State. It must be consulted, it must be placated by the nomination of men of high character and lofty political principles, and not by the meat offerings of patronage, if the party is to remain a power in politics and complete its yet unended mission." The Washington correspondent of the *Buffalo Courier* showed this deliverance to a leading Minnesota man, and asked his explanation, which was as follows: "That is exactly the situation in our State. The thoughtful Republicans are alarmed. Their party is threatened with disintegration. Blaine's nomination would be the weakest that could be made for us. Of 103 Republicans in our Legislature, a poll showed only about thirty for Blaine, and that is about the ratio throughout the State. . . . You will find Minnesota looking elsewhere than to Maine for a candidate next year."

It is estimated by good judges in Rhode Island that there are now in that State between 4,000 and 5,000 voters, formerly Republicans, who are henceforth confirmed Independents or Mugwumps—that is, they are men who will vote for the most fit candidates without regard to their party labels. This is the feature of the recent political revolution there which gives the Republican managers the gravest concern. The total vote shows that while over 2,000 more votes were cast this year than in 1884, the Republican vote was about 4,000 less this year than it was in 1884.

That represents a Republican loss of over 4,000 votes in a total of 19,000, or one-fifth. The entire vote of all parties in the State is less than 35,000, so that about one-eighth of it is independent. As every election is decided by a few thousand votes, it is manifest that these 4,000 Independents have the balance of power in their own hands. As they are certain to cast their votes against an unfit candidate, it is easy to understand why the best authorities in the State are agreed in saying that it will be lost to the Republicans if Mr. Blaine is renominated next year.

It is to be inferred from Mr. Conkling's letter to the Americus Club of Pittsburgh, which last week celebrated the sixty-fifth anniversary of Gen. Grant's birthday, that he believes that the Republican party is still in existence, though in a comatose condition. He intimates that it has not "kept step with the march of events," and has laid aside "the spirit, prowess, and earnestness which made and kept it great and useful and triumphant." As a cure for all this, he suggests "the revival of the Republican party, provided it can discover the questions deserving of attention, take the right side of them, and act up to its convictions." Of the nature of these questions he, however, unhappily does not give the slightest hint. We regret to say, "the bearings of this observation lays in the application on it." Until some truly great Republican reveals what the "questions deserving of attention" are, we fear the party will remain in its present inanimate condition. We believe Mr. Evarts knows what they are, but would not tell, even if he saw approaching the wild horses which were to be attached to his person to wring from him by torture his momentous secret.

The votes cast at the recent election in Michigan, except for one very small county, have been canvassed, and the showing merits careful attention. Beginning with 1882 and ending with 1886, the Democrats and Greenbackers "fused" at each election, so that the true comparison of this month's result is with the spring election of 1881, when the Democrats and Greenbackers for the last time ran separate tickets. The figures for the two contests are as follows, the candidate who led the Republican ticket being the one whose vote is used:

	Rep.	Dem.	Green.	Pro.
1881...	127,436	72,730	33,256	12,774
1887...	176,322	140,827	27,980	18,530

It will be observed that in 1881 the Republicans had a plurality of 54,706 over the Democrats, and of 21,450 over the Democrats and Greenbackers together, and a majority of 8,676 over all three opposing parties; while in 1887 they have a plurality of but 35,495 over the Democrats, and of only 7,515 over the Democrats and Greenbackers, and lack 11,016 of a majority over all the opposition. Supposing that the Democrats and Greenbackers had maintained their fusion, the Republicans would have increased their plurality of 3,308 in the Presidential election of 1884 to 7,515 in 1887 on a smaller vote. The vitality of the Greenbackers is worthy of note, their vote this year being within about 5,000 of their record six years ago, although in the meantime the

Greenback "issue" has vanished from our politics.

The most striking feature of the canvass is the showing that the vote on the prohibition amendment to the Constitution considerably exceeded that for State officers, the aggregates being 365,302 for the former and 363,825 for the latter. In a number of counties hundreds of votes more were cast for and against the amendment than for the various judicial tickets, and in the whole State, as will be observed, the total is about 1,500 larger. This is a result without precedent, not only in Michigan, but in any other State. The rule is that amendments are neglected by the majority of the men who go to the polls, and there have been cases in Michigan where not more than a quarter of the men who voted for State officers took the trouble to express their views on a proposed change in the Constitution. Even when the liquor issue was last submitted to popular vote in 1876, the question being whether the section which had then been in the Constitution for twenty-five years prohibiting the granting of licenses should be stricken out, although 316,689 men voted for President, only 113,200 ballots were cast in all on the amendment.

Mr. Edward Atkinson delivered an address to workmen at the Central Labor Lyceum in Boston on Sunday evening. The difference between his lecture and that of the Rev. Dr. McGlynn was the difference between a practical workingman, who is also a trained thinker, and the inmate of a mediæval cloister. Mr. Atkinson comes before his audience with a yard of cotton cloth. He has made millions of yards himself, and he knows to the thousandth part of a cent where the $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents that the yard sells for eventually goes. He shows that a little more than 3 cents goes to pay for the cotton, that is, to remunerate everybody engaged in raising, baling, and transporting it; that a little more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents goes to the cotton operatives, spinners, weavers, packers, etc., and that the remaining $1\frac{3}{4}$ cents is divided between mill supplies (other than cotton), wear and tear of machinery, insurance, taxes, freight, commissions on sales, wages of superintendents, and profit. How much does profit get? It is a decimal fraction, .3412. On 17,500,000 yards, worth \$1,100,000, the estimated yearly production of a mill having a capital of \$1,000,000, the owners get \$80,000 if the times are good, the cotton-growers, the dealers in mill supplies, etc., get \$85,000, the State gets \$15,000 in the way of taxes, and the labor immediately employed gets the balance, \$940,000. Now, the question is whether capital, the great gormandizer and oppressor of the poor man, can be induced to put itself at risk, and give up the enjoyments which might be had in this fleeting world, for less than .3412 cent per yard of cloth, or less than \$60,000 on an investment of \$1,000,000. If not, where is to be found the \$940,000 that goes to labor when capital retires and the mill stops turning? These are very hard facts. They belong to the "dismal science," as Carlyle called it. But Mr. Atkinson has the rare faculty of putting hard facts in their pleasantest guise, and expounding the dismal science in its brightest colors.

Cardinal Manning's article in the London *Tablet* on the Knights of Labor, if the version published in the *Herald* on Friday be correct, throws no more light on the subject than that of Cardinal Gibbons. He argues in defence of the right of laborers to combine, and of the need of combination in order to defend themselves against the power of capital, which nobody now denies or even questions. But he fails to take notice of the one new fact in the present case, namely, that the Knights of Labor are not a trades union, but an attempt to organize all men who are paid wages in any calling into an association hostile to everybody who pays wages, and in fact to everybody who has saved money and uses or lends it in any enterprise calling for the employment of labor. If this attempt were successful, it would really mean the constitution by the wage-earners of a new political society within the State, an *imperium in imperio*, under an arbitrary government, possessing powers of interference with the lives and property of its subjects such as the worst despotisms in the worst ages have never exercised or claimed. The Cardinal touches lightly on the way the power of the Knights has been abused in persecuting people who do not choose to join the organization. But such an organization must persecute in order to succeed. Men cannot be persuaded on any great scale to surrender their control over their private affairs to small committees made up of persons belonging to totally different callings, without more or less intimidation and annoyance. In other words, the Knights can only maintain and extend the order by making it very uncomfortable or even dangerous not to be a Knight. Consequently, most of Cardinal Manning's talk on the subject is sadly platitudinarian. He affirms what nobody denies, defends what nobody attacks, and avoids touching the only knotty point in the case.

We are informed by the cable that a Mr. White is coming out here on behalf of the Irish Woollen Manufacturing and Exporting Company, in order to look for a market for Irish woollen goods in this country. He is doubtless going to appeal to the patriotic sentiments of Irishmen in America, in order to get them to clothe themselves in Irish woollens. Probably nothing has done more, however, to make people doubt the industrial capacity of the Irish at home than these attempts, of which there have been many, to build up Irish manufactures on a sentimental basis. No people have ever long purchased their goods out of love for the makers. As Thiers well said, "Men will die for their country, but they will not make pig-iron for their country"—or, he might have added, buy it. The only way under heaven to make Irish woollens permanently sell here or elsewhere is to offer them cheaper and better than other woollens. And, even if Irish woollens could beat the English or Continental woollens in the home markets, they could not get much sale here without a lowering of the tariff. And yet at the last election, and, in fact, at every election, Irishmen are found voting for the high tariff for the purpose of damaging England, which is very like the Dublin mob in the last century which burnt the bills of the

Latouche Bank for the purpose of annoying the Latouches.

Prof. Atwater of Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., who begins in the May number of the *Century* what promises to be an exceedingly valuable series of papers on "The Chemistry of Foods," makes some remarks upon oleomargarine, from the standpoint of a thoughtful man of science, which deserve the attention of careless legislators. "This is a case," he says, "where mechanical invention, aided by science, is enabled to furnish a cheap, wholesome, and nutritious food for the people." Conceding that legislation to provide for official inspection of this, as of other food products, and to insure that it shall be sold for what it is, and not for what it is not, is very desirable, and that every reasonable measure to prevent fraud, here as elsewhere, ought to be welcomed, Prof. Atwater holds that "the attempt to curtail or suppress the production of a cheap and useful food material by law, lest the profits which a class—the producers of butter—have enjoyed from the manufacture of a costlier article may be diminished, is opposed to the interests of a large body of people, to the spirit of our institutions, and to the plainest dictates of justice." Fortunately, the tax imposed upon the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine by the law as it finally passed was so much reduced from the high figures first suggested by the dairy interests, that while it may help toward preventing improper sale of butter substitutes, and, by obliging sellers to pay high license fees, may considerably interfere with their general use, it will not be as effective in excluding them from the markets as was desired.

It is surprising that in all the discussions about the ash-barrel nuisance and the difficulties of street-cleaning in this city, no mention has been made of that great peculiarity of New York, the absence of back entrances to the houses. We are not able to say in detail how the matter is arranged in all other large cities, but certainly in no other large city is the back or kitchen side of the house wholly inaccessible from the street, as it is here. In Boston, the cleanliness and neatness of which are very striking, there is, in most streets, a narrow passage through the block, in the rear of the houses, through which the ash and swill carts have access to the back yards, in which the household refuse is deposited pending removal. The same arrangement exists in Philadelphia, in Chicago, and in London. In the continental cities the inner court of the great apartment-houses is always accessible to vehicles of some kind from the street, and the refuse can be kept there out of sight. There is probably nothing more extraordinary in New York than the utter disregard of this most necessary convenience in the building of all the upper portion of the city—by which we mean that portion of it which was built after people became conscious that it was going to be a really great city. From Union Square up, block after block has been built, and is being built, up to the Harlem River, without the

smallest provision for a back entrance, although a passage through the block twelve feet wide would have sufficed amply for the purpose. The lots are usually 100.5 deep, and six feet from each back yard would never have been missed. A wider space somewhere near the centre of the block would be necessary to enable carts to pass each other, but this need not curtail more than one lot on each side. There are very fine blocks of houses going up on the west side of the Park, but, strange to say, not one is provided with a back alley. And yet it would add immensely to the comfort, convenience, and decency of them all—to say nothing of the preservation of the streets from disgusting nuisances. How is it that no builder has ever thought of this; and how is it that none of the legislators who love to tinker New York city has ever brought in a bill making these back alleys compulsory?

In fact, we doubt whether there is a city in the world which has done less through its municipal ordinances to teach habits of order and decency to the poor, and raise their standard of comfort. Tens of thousands of ignorant, slatternly people drop down here from Europe every year, of whom a large proportion soon acquire homes of some sort, but nothing that they see or hear around them teaches them that cleanliness and neatness can be had without wealth. The only clean streets they ever see are streets where rich people live. The only sidewalks they see which are always free from beastly barrels of offal and ashes, are the sidewalks in front of rich people's houses. It is not surprising that they soon come to regard squalid and filthy surroundings as the signs and concomitants of republican institutions. Those who move out to the suburbs carry with them the tastes which they acquired in the city. Is there in the world a more repulsive spectacle than our suburban villages? Can any one carry a foreigner along our roads and through our villages, between here and the Connecticut line, and on this end of Long Island, without hanging his head for shame, or wishing it were night time? The wretched roads (except along the Hudson River), worthy of the Middle Ages, the dirty little frame houses, the broken-down fences, the weed-grown yards, the litter of vegetable cans, hoop-skirts, old shoes, ashes, offal, and filth of every description which line the sidewalk, wherever there are habitations, make a very odious spectacle. But suburbs like these are fitting appendages to our streets. It would be useless to girdle such a city with more decent villages. We cannot expect the suburban population to dislike squalor and dirt more than the population of the city.

The mortality statistics of London show a steady lowering of the death-rate, amounting to about 20 per cent. during the last quarter of a century. The average during the ten years following 1860 was 24.4 per 1,000; from 1870 to 1880, 22.5, and since 1880, only 20.5, the rate in the last two years having been so unprecedentedly low as 19.8 and 19.9. The change is accompanied by a similar, though

less pronounced, diminution in the birth-rate of late years, which ranged between 35.9 and 35.3 from 1870 to 1880, and since then has fallen steadily, year by year, to 32.3 in 1886. The decline in the death-rate of London is, of course, largely due to the development of an effective system of sanitary regulations. The decline in the birth-rate of recent years, the *Lancet* says, has not been confined to London, or even to England, although more pronounced in the metropolis than elsewhere.

The revelations made by Mr. Gladstone touching Parnell's state of mind after the Phoenix Park murders will greatly strengthen the prevailing belief that the *Times* has been the willing victim of a forgery. The temper in which that journal has of late been carrying on the warfare against the Irish party is one which of course makes anything in the way of credulity and readiness to be imposed on, seem possible. That the evidence of the authenticity of the letter could have been weighed by a person in the sort of frenzy about everything Irish in which the editor seems to live, is of course very improbable. To a person in that condition anything that seemed likely to back up the frantic accusations he had been making for many weeks, was very welcome—too welcome to be criticised or examined. But, on the other hand, it is almost certain that both the *Times* itself and a considerable number of the Tories and Liberal Unionists will now maintain that when Parnell made the communications to Gladstone which the latter reports, he was simply manufacturing evidence for future use—that is, to be produced on some such occasion as the present one. There is nothing, in fact, in the way of deep-laid villainy they are not ready to ascribe to him, and do not ascribe.

The Tory position, and that of the *Times*, is that when a letter is produced, even by an enemy, containing what purports to be a man's signature, although unaccompanied by any proof of its authenticity, his repudiation of it is of no value, unless backed up by an action at law, to be brought in the midst of a prejudiced and even hostile community. In the present case, the *Times* offers only *a priori* reasons for believing in the genuineness of the signature—that is, the letter is genuine because it is just such a letter as a bad man like Parnell would be likely to write. The acceptance of this argument by a large body of English gentlemen is a striking illustration of the depth of the rancor felt towards the Irish party, and of the absurdity of the notion that there exists anything that can be called real "unity" between Great Britain and Ireland. If there were the semblance of such a thing, of course all politicians in England would hesitate, no matter what their real opinion of them might be, about heaping all the insults they can put into words on the legal representatives of the Irish people in the House of Commons. They would feel that, in reviling them en masse, they were wounding and exasperating a large body of fellow-citizens—a kind of thing which shrewd politicians in a constitutional country always avoid.

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, April 27, to TUESDAY, May 3, 1887, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

EX-SPEAKER J. G. CARLISLE has declared that he does not wish to be considered a candidate for the Senate from Kentucky, and has made the predictions that the Fiftieth Congress will reduce the revenue both from customs duties and the tobacco tax, and that Mr. Cleveland will again be the Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

The Inter-State Commerce Commissioners have been holding sessions in the principal Southern cities, hearing arguments chiefly by representatives of the railroads to show that the long-and-short-haul clause of the law ought to be suspended; but an organization of farmers in Louisiana presented a petition for the enforcement of the whole law. Some of the Western roads have lost much cattle traffic because they have refused passes to cattle men while their competitors have continued to give them. Judge Cooley, the Chairman of the Commission, has informed a religious organization in St. Louis that the law does not prevent the granting of cheaper rates to preachers and other religious workers. The Oregon Railway and Navigation Company and the Union Pacific Railway Company are among those which have most recently asked for a suspension of the long-and-short-haul section. The United States Pacific Railroad Commissions, sitting in this city, have begun an investigation of the affairs of the Pacific railway companies.

The National Civil-Service Commission is proceeding with the organization of the permanent Board of Examiners, separate boards hitherto having been appointed at different times. Two of the seven members have already been chosen and have entered upon their preliminary duties. They are to have charge of all examination papers which come up from the several examination cities, and are to pass upon the qualifications of all applicants.

A new prohibitory law has been enacted by the Rhode Island Legislature, the principal features of which are as follows: Making the presence of an excess of two per cent. of alcohol in liquor *prima-facie* evidence that it is intoxicating; giving the Chief of State Police ten salaried deputies for use in any part of the State; strengthening the seizure section; giving members of the State Police authority to arrest and hold a prisoner twelve hours without a warrant; making drunkenness a statutory offence, with a maximum penalty of \$10 fine or ten days' imprisonment; making the keeping of a club room a penal offence, the maximum penalty being \$1,000 fine and a year's imprisonment.

Dr. W. T. Northrup, a prominent physician at Haverhill, Scioto County, O., was murdered April 27 by Thomas McCoy, a saloon-keeper, and his brother and nephews, because Dr. Northrup had been active in favor of local option. They waylaid him and fired on him with pistols and shotguns. The murderers were arrested, and the excitement has been the greater because the murder was committed for the same reason as the Haddock murder in Iowa.

A sum (\$8,000 or more) has been subscribed in Louisville, by liquor-dealers, to be used in the fight in Texas over a prohibitory amendment to the State Constitution. The Texan campaign is becoming very exciting.

At Fall River, Mass., on April 30, every one of the 300 liquor licenses expired, and prohibition under the no-license law went into effect. The town had got \$60,000 a year revenue from this source.

Milo H. Dakin, a member of the Michigan House of Representatives, who was accused of soliciting money from his fellow-members on false pretences, and of making out a list of

members and the prices for which their votes could be controlled, was found guilty under impeachment proceedings April 28, and expelled.

Gov. Green of New Jersey on April 28 signed the bill requiring the use of the Hall & Wood ballot-box, now in use in Ohio. It registers and numbers each ballot, and is secured with three different locks and keys.

Thirteen more indictments against men for committing frauds in the election at St. Louis last fall have been presented by the Grand Jury to the United States Court.

The Half-Holiday Bill, as it has passed both houses of the New York Legislature, provides that in case New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Decoration Day, the Fourth of July, or Christmas falls on Saturday, the next Monday shall be deemed the legal holiday, and in such cases commercial paper which would otherwise be payable on that Monday is payable on the Tuesday next succeeding. The bill, if it receives the Governor's signature, will make every Saturday afternoon a legal holiday, in addition to the days named above.

Another man having leaped from the New York and Brooklyn Bridge, a bill was introduced in the New York Legislature April 28 to make jumping from the bridge a misdemeanor.

The motion made by the counsel for Jacob Sharp, to quash the indictments against him for giving bribes to the New York Aldermen of 1884 to grant the Broadway Railway franchise, has been denied, and his trial will be begun on the day appointed—May 11.

The jury in the case of Paul Grottkau of Milwaukee, charged with inciting riot there last May at the time of the Anarchist activity in Chicago, found him guilty.

The largest natural gas well yet discovered is at Fairmount, Ind. The test of Prof. Orton, State Geologist of Ohio, shows that it is flowing nearly 12,000,000 feet per day.

Robbers stopped a Southern Pacific train near Tucson, Arizona, April 27, and took from the express car about \$5,000.

The streams in New England, especially in Maine, have been swollen to a higher water mark than had been reached before in eighteen years. Two million logs at the Somerset Mills on the Kennebec River were washed away and many of them were carried to sea. The damage to railroad tracks and to other property is great.

Two sharp shocks of earthquake were felt at Spokane Falls, W. T., April 30.

During the winter season of 1883-4 48,869 persons were registered at the hotels in Jacksonville, Fla.; during the season of 1884-5 60,011; during the season of 1885-6 65,193, and during the season just ended 58,460. The comparative reports from the hotels in other towns in the State show about the same rate of increase up to 1885-6, and slight decrease this season.

A Philadelphia company has built four magnificent sleeping cars that are to be drawn by horses in the heart of the Argentine Republic. Horse power is used because of the scarcity of coal.

The report of the Massachusetts Railroad Commission on the Bussey Bridge railroad disaster has been presented to the Legislature. It finds that the contract for the bridge was carelessly made, that the designs and specifications should not have been accepted, and that the bridge had not been properly inspected. The Board recommend the passage of an act requiring every railroad, at least once in two years, to have a thorough examination of all bridges on its lines made by a competent civil engineer.

The 800 employees of Asa Cushman & Co.'s shoe factory at Auburn, Me., received a divi-

dend of 4 per cent. on the amount of their wages for the year ended April 30. The business of the factory for the year amounted to \$1,269,262; the cost of labor, \$288,244, in addition to the dividend of 4 per cent., which amounted to \$11,529. The business of the factory was larger by \$150,000 under the profit-sharing system than ever before.

Mrs. Richmond of Batavia, widow of the late Dean Richmond, has given \$25,000 for the purpose of erecting a library building in that place. Mrs. Osterhout, widow of the late Isaac Osterhout, died in Wilkesbarre, Pa., April 28. Her husband by his will bequeathed about \$200,000 for the erection and establishment of a free library in that city, but provided that the fund should accumulate for five years. The five years have expired, and now by the death of the widow the fund is increased to nearly \$400,000. Mr. Henry Woods of Boston has presented the Library Association of his native town, Barre, with a building, erected by him last year, and \$5,000 as an endowment for a library.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art in this city has received two more notable artistic treasures. Mr. Henry Hilton has presented to it Meissonier's famous painting "1807," which he purchased at the recent sale of the Stewart collection, and Edouard Detaille's "Defence of Champigny."

Mr. Robert Henderson, who is employed by the Smithsonian Institution, arrived at Philadelphia April 28 with a large collection of tropical birds which he had made in the West Indies.

The hundredth anniversary of the birth of the German poet Ludwig Uhland (April 26) was celebrated by the Germans of New York April 28, and a literary society at Berlin gave a grand banquet in the Town Hall in honor of the same event. Among the guests were many authors, scientists, and other distinguished persons.

Gen. Grant's birthday, April 27, was observed by meetings at Pittsburgh and at several other places, many of them under the direction of the Grand Army posts. It is expected that the day will be observed every year.

A stone monument to ex-President Arthur will be set up in the cemetery at Albany, and a life-size bronze statue of him in one of the public squares in this city, by a number of his friends.

FOREIGN.

M. Schnaebelé, the French Commissary who was arrested by German police and imprisoned at Metz, was liberated April 30; but his trial will be continued, and is expected by the Germans to show the closest connection of the French Government with the spies. He arrived at midnight at Pagny-sur-Moselle, where he was arrested, and he was met by the populace of the town, headed by all the officers of the municipality. They cried "Vive la France," "Vive Schnaebelé." He proceeded to Paris, where he had an interview with M. Flourens. The Paris newspapers express pleasure at the manner in which the Schnaebelé affair has been settled, and pronounce it an honorable settlement. They praise the prudence and fairness displayed by M. Flourens, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his conduct of France's side of the case. They draw from the incident the lesson that in the future France must redouble her vigilance in order to avoid surprises of the kind caused by the arrest of M. Schnaebelé. Germany seems to have even greater reason for gratification. Bismarck expects now to be able to show, whenever he chooses to find or make a *casus belli*, that the Government of France has officially sanctioned espionage of the most treacherous character. Schnaebelé's release will be exhibited as an act of magnanimity.

During the performance on the evening of May 3 in Paris of "Lohengrin," a crowd

gathered outside the theatre which hooted Wagner and Germany, sang the "Marseillaise," and cried, "Vive la France! Vive l'Armée!" The police cleared the street and arrested four persons. A rainstorm dispersed the mob before the performance was ended.

The remains of the composer Rossini, who died in Paris in 1868, were disinterred at Père-la-Chaise Cemetery May 1 in the presence of a number of admirers. They were taken to Florence for reburial on May 3.

Mr. Gladstone, in a speech at a dinner given by Labor members of Parliament on April 26, declared his disbelief in the accusations made against the Irish leaders. He said that in May, 1882, immediately after the assassination of Cavendish and Burke in Phoenix Park, Mr. Parnell wrote him a letter with reference to that crime, the contents of which had obviously been written under great mental distress, and gave strong evidence that the letter recently published by the London *Times* as Mr. Parnell's was a base and malicious forgery. Mr. Parnell offered to place himself without reserve in Mr. Gladstone's hands; he regarded the murders with the utmost abhorrence, and offered to resign the leadership of the Irish party and retire altogether from political life if Mr. Gladstone considered such a step advisable in the interests of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone said that many years ago, when he was Commissioner to the Ionian Islands, the *Times* bitterly attacked him, accusing him of treason. On returning to England he consulted a famous lawyer, Mr. Freshfield, with the view of bringing an action, but was dissuaded because, even if he proved his case, no jury, in the state of the public mind at that time, would be likely to convict the *Times*.

In the House of Commons on April 28, a Liberal motion that the House decline to proceed with any measure directed against tenants' combinations for relief until a full measure for their relief from excessive rents is presented in Parliament, was rejected by a vote of 341 to 240; and a motion that the House go into committee on the Crimes Bill was then adopted. In the debate beforehand Mr. Morley said that the effect of the bill would be, not to prevent the withdrawal of capital from Ireland, but to drive out the labor that supported capital. The Government had its own weak case to thank for the prolonging of the discussion.

In the House of Commons on May 2 the debate on the Crimes Bill turned on the question to what parts of Ireland the bill would be applicable. Mr. Labouchere said that its aim was to crush out the Nationalists, leaving the Orangemen to do anything they liked. The administration of the law was so bound up with the Orange faction that it could not be impartial. During the debate Mr. Gladstone, replying to a statement that he was responsible for the equally strong system of five years ago, said that an essential difference was overlooked, namely, that his bill had been directed against crime, while the one under discussion was not. At least, he added, the present bill was directed against acts that had not hitherto been considered crimes. By the application of the closure rule the debate on this phase of the bill was shut off.

The London *Times* on May 2 said: "Our articles on Parnellism and Crime and the Parnell letter have sunk deep into the public mind, and have produced a conviction that nothing will shake, save evidence of a kind that Mr. Parnell cannot produce." The *Times* published on the same day a long article of the style of the articles on Parnellism and Crime, purporting to show that Mr. John Dillon, in his defence of the Parnellite party, either offered to Parliament a tissue of fictions or reached a still lower depth of dishonesty.

Charles Edward Lewis (Conservative), on May 3, in the House of Commons, called the House's attention to the breach of privilege committed by the *Times* in making this charge

against Mr. John Dillon, and moved that the House take notice of them. Mr. Dillon declared that when the publisher of the *Times* stood at the bar he would prove him as base and cowardly a liar as ever existed. Mr. Sexton said it was for an assembly of English gentlemen to say whether for the future its Irish members should be exposed to the attack of every ruffian calling himself the editor of a newspaper. The House should let the assailed members have an inquiry by committee. "Then," said Mr. Sexton, "let the *Times* bring forward its battalions of forgers and liars. The Irish members will prove that they have been subjected to a system of moral assassination." After debate the House adjourned without taking action on the motion.

In the trial of the suit of St. John Brenon against William Ridgway, a publisher in London, for libel in accusing the plaintiff of being a Fenian and a former ally of the Invincibles, the jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff, awarding him £500 damages.

Mr. Parnell has selected Mr. William O'Brien, editor of *United Ireland*, as the Home-Rule candidate for northeast Cork to fill the vacancy in the House of Commons caused by the resignation of Mr. Edmund Leamy, Home-Ruler. Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Kilbride, one of the tenants evicted from the Lansdowne estates, sailed from Queenstown for New York May 1, on their way to Canada, where they hope to arouse popular indignation against Lord Lansdowne. The Mayor and the Municipal Council of Queenstown and various other bodies presented Mr. O'Brien with addresses, and a crowd cheered him.

During the week ended April 30 2,618 emigrants left Queenstown for America. The total number who sailed from that port for April was 11,854, against 6,656 for April last year.

Westminster Abbey has been vacated by the clergy and given over to artists and architects for decoration for the jubilee visit of the Queen on June 21. The Privy Council has directed the Archbishop of Canterbury to prepare a prayer and thanksgiving for the occasion, which is to be ordered to be used in England, Wales, and the town of Berwick-on-Tweed. Manchester's jubilee exhibition rivals in interest and value the international exhibitions of the past. The collection of modern English paintings, which is insured at a value of \$10,000,000, is said to be the finest ever made.

The Cambridge (England) University Boat Club has appointed a committee to make arrangements with the Harvard University Boat Club for a race between the Cambridge and Harvard crews, to take place in America in September. Seventy yachts have been entered for the British jubilee race, and it is probable that more will be added to the list of competitors before the entries close on June 7.

The Oxford University Dramatic Society will this year play the "Alcestis" of Euripides in the original Greek. The first performance will take place on May 18.

Cardinal Manning has published a letter wherein he says that towards the end of the last century the doctrines of political economy, under the plea of free contract, broke up the old relations between the employer and the employed, and the conflict between capital and labor then became perpetual; that the Knights of Labor and the British trades unions represent the rights of labor and the rights of association for its defence, and that the freedom of contract on which political economy glorifies itself hardly exists. Although the Clerical newspapers at Paris are silent on the Papal decision on the labor question, the Royalist journals express displeasure. The *Temps* says it does not wonder that the Pope is trying to gain such a powerful machine for his side as the Knights of Labor, but wonders what is to become of the old preju-

dices that so long dominated Rome. The Holy Office consecrates democracy as the legitimate heir of the régimes which preceded it.

As published in Vienna, the conditions for a reconciliation of the Vatican with the Quirinal are these: (1) The Pope will advise the royal, archducal, and ducal families of Naples, Tuscany, and Modena to renounce all claims to sovereignty in favor of the Holy See; (2) and he will crown Humbert King, granting him and his Catholic descendants territory in Italy in fief. (3) The King will govern the whole kingdom, with full temporal rights, but will acknowledge the Pope as suzerain, and pledge himself to rule according to the dictates of the Church; (4) and he will reside in Rome. (5) Territory, including the Leonine City and part of the Tiber shore, will be allotted permanently to the Pope, with absolute ruling and proprietary rights. (6) A special convention will be concluded, fixing the amount Italy shall pay to maintain the Papal household.

The lower house of the Prussian Diet ordered the new Ecclesiastical Bill to its third reading on April 27 by a vote of 243 to 100. Twenty six Free Conservatives, eight Conservatives, and eight National Liberals abstained from voting.

The troops of the Amir of Afghanistan have been routed in two recent engagements with the forces of the rebels against his rule, and Candahar is threatened. The Governor of Herat has sent another demand to the Amir for reinforcements. He states that the Russians are advancing their posts and exciting the Afghans. Traders arriving at Herat report that the Russians have removed the pillars erected by the Boundary Commission.

It is reported from London that three Russian steamers are continuously engaged in transporting troops destined for Tcharjui, in Turkestan.

It is reported that Russia has proposed to remit the Turkish war indemnity in return for a cession of territory in Asia Minor.

The Swiss State Council has ratified a Literary Copyright Convention with the United States.

The details of a new postal treaty between the United States and Mexico have been made known at the Mexican capital. It provides that the single-rate letter postage between the two countries shall be reduced from five to two cents. Before it can go into effect it must receive the approval of the Congress and President of Mexico, and of the President of the United States.

It is reported that two of the seven lost Mexican bonanza mines have been rediscovered by an American party of prospectors. The tradition is that they were worked up to the middle of the last century. A surveying party found in an old chapel maps and other data which gave them a clue.

Advices from Lima under date of April 1 are that the number of deaths from cholera at Santiago and Valparaiso were decreasing; Free communication between the capital and the port has been restored. Up to that date 2,873 persons had fallen victims to the epidemic in Santiago alone. The poverty was alarming, owing to the few opportunities for work, and suicides were reported to be of frequent occurrence.

The first straight party division in the new Canadian House of Commons was made on April 29, the Government majority being 32.

A hurricane swept the northeast coast of Australia on the 22d inst. A pearl fishing fleet, numbering forty boats, was destroyed, and 550 persons perished. The steamer *Benton* of Singapore was recently sunk in a collision with a bark off the island of Formosa, and 150 persons, among whom was no European, were drowned.

A VERY IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

THE first meeting of the most ambitious society the world has ever seen, was held on Sunday night in Chickering Hall—we mean the "Anti-Poverty Society." The object of this society is not to diminish poverty, or to console those who suffer from it with the promise of better things in a future life, but, to use the words of Dr. McGlynn, who was the principal speaker, "to pluck out the very heart of the hated thing—not to coddle it by plaster or poultice, but to reach to the basis which is the perennial and fruitful parent of that horrid poverty resulting from the injustice of man in violating the laws of God."

The metaphors here are a little mixed, but there is no rhetorical fault which may not be pardoned to a man who is announcing such a change in the near future as the disappearance of poverty. This would really be the most tremendous change seen since the appearance of the human race on this globe, for during the whole of that period, as at this moment, the great mass of mankind has lived and died in poverty—that is, has been able by hard labor to extract little more than a bare living from the soil. This is true of all countries and all ages, under all systems of land tenure and all systems of government. There are countries, and there have been ages, in which men were less poor and more contented than in others, but in all countries and all ages most men are more or less poor and more or less discontented. This is true of the people of Europe, of Asia, Africa and America. In all of them poverty has probably the same cause, whether it be, as we think, the niggardliness of nature, or, as Dr. McGlynn thinks, the injustice of man. In other words, whatever may be the cause of poverty, it is something tremendous in its power, and extent, and duration. The Society, therefore, which undertakes the speedy squelching or removing of this cause is a glorious society. If it succeeds without deceiving anybody, or obtaining money or goods from anybody on false pretences, its founders will take the place in human memory and imagination now occupied by all the prophets, apostles, saints, and sages of every age and clime. To say they will become famous would be ridiculous. Their position towards the human race will more nearly resemble that once occupied by the Greek and Roman divinities than that which the modern world has been in the habit of assigning to mortals, however illustrious. McGlynn and George will, in other words, if the Society succeeds, most certainly be worshipped as deities. Nothing the Positivists or Agnostics can say will prevent it. Halls dedicated to them and in which they will receive divine honors will spring up all over the country, and Chickering Hall will be put under glass and kept for pilgrims from all parts of the globe as the sacred spot from which the decree went forth which put an end to the greatest and most constant of human ills.

We are not ourselves, however, very sanguine about the matter, because Dr. McGlynn already seems to us to profess to know a great deal more of the intentions of the Almighty than the facts quite warrant. He

said, for instance, apparently from his own knowledge, that "God cannot have sent the great mass of His children into this world to be cursed for ever with misery and poverty." Now, we do not ourselves know what the future of the race is to be. We trust it will be far happier than the past has been; but we are sure there is something wrong about Dr. McGlynn's deductions from the fatherhood of God. His argument is, that as God is our father, he cannot have intended any of us to be poor and miserable. But the fact is that the great bulk of us have been poor, miserable, and ignorant for countless ages, and are so still. Why this should be, we no more know than why man was sent on this planet at all. But Dr. McGlynn knows no more about it than we do. If his argument be good for anything with regard to the future, it ought to be good with regard to the past. But with regard to the past we know it to be as vain and empty as the ring of a brass farthing. God, in other words, has not governed the world on the McGlynn plan, and there is no reason to suppose that He will govern it hereafter on any plan recommended by McGlynn. He takes no account of resolutions passed in halls or even of popular majorities. In India, within our own time, where the land is all held on the George plan—that is, owned by the State and rented to the cultivators—hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children have perished miserably of famine, not through the injustice of men, but through drought. How is this to be explained on the McGlynn theory? Why did the earth not bring forth her fruits for these innocent peasants, and prevent the awful misery of a great famine? Why did earthquakes and volcanoes lay waste thousands of square miles in the Spice Islands a few years ago, and the overflow of the lower Ganges drown tens of thousands? We do not know, and the man who says *he* knows, and tries to get simple people to act on his information in the management of their lives, is undoubtedly either a deluded person or a charlatan.

What is most melancholy, however, about such oratory as Dr. McGlynn's and Henry George's is, not simply that they are trying to persuade ignorant people that their land scheme is divine in its origin, and would banish poverty, but that it can be successfully carried into execution by human agency; or, in other words, that we have the talent and capacity at command for the management of the whole continent as Government property, with such justice, honesty, intelligence, and foresight that no man shall be poor or unhappy. They do this, too, in full view of the result of poor Powderly's much less ambitious attempt to regulate the affairs of a few hundred thousand wage-earners, in different parts of the country. Powderly is really a man of very moderate abilities, little education, and apparently a poor physique; but he nevertheless undertook to create an organization which should solve the "labor problem" on this continent, and which he was to direct for the ridiculously low salary of \$5,000 a year. He has only been two or three years in full work in his new post; and although he has never come anywhere near success, he is already crying out to his followers to

have mercy on him. His wail, printed in the morning papers, is, when one considers what the man undertook, as ludicrous as anything in comic literature. He complains of the number of letters he receives, and implores people not to write to him or send him invitations to lecture. His strength, he says, will not stand the strain, and he "must have relief from unnecessary labor." But he has no right to ask for relief. Anybody who undertakes to tell all the trades in the United States how to manage their business, and all capitalists how to spend their money, is not entitled to relaxation.

TRUSTS AND CONFIDENCES.

THE public are hardly aware of the magnitude of the power growing up among them under the name of "Trusts." We are all familiar with corporations. We know where to find them. We know what their powers are. We can call them to account. The shareholders can inspect their books and in some cases understand them. They are the creatures of law and are subject to its limitations. These have been defined by judicial decisions extending over hundreds of years, so that anybody who takes the trouble can learn to a nicety what any corporation can do, and what it cannot. Nearly all corporations, for instance, have a limited capital and a limited debt, neither of which can be exceeded without express public authority. So, also, they are limited as to the nature of their undertakings. A railroad company cannot engage in manufacturing or general trading without express authority. A manufacturing company cannot engage in navigation, or banking, or publishing newspapers, or supplying gas to cities, or speculating in land or in stocks, or in any trade not specified in its charter. These limitations are in the interest of the shareholders as well as of the public. They are grounded in reason, and they form the substratum of corporate existence everywhere.

The "trust" is the sphinx of corporations, except that it is not a corporation at all. It may own and control many corporations, but it is bound by no law. There are no limitations upon it, not even those of time and space. Neither the public nor the shareholders can call it to account. It has no fixed abode, no place of meeting, no books of account that anybody can demand access to. It may engage in any kind of business or in many different kinds at once. It is irresponsible to the last degree. It may dissipate the capital confided to it without danger to anybody except the confiding investors. It may oppress the public without fear of the State because there is nothing for the State to lay hold of. Although it calls itself a trust, it is as far as possible from being such. There is a body of law applicable to trusts, but there is no law applicable to "the trust." It should be called a Confidence, since it has no similitude to anything known to the law as a trust.

What is meant by a trust in the present acceptance of the term, as, Standard Oil Trust, Cotton Oil Trust, Gas Trust, etc., is this: Certain persons conceive the idea of buying up all the machinery and tools in the country ap-

plied to the production of some staple article. They call themselves a trust, and invite the public to subscribe money to carry the plan into effect. They also invite the producers of the article to put their establishments into the trust, representing that thus competition can be controlled. They have no act of incorporation. They could not get one if they wanted it, and they do not want it. They get a certain number of producers with their plant into the trust and a certain amount of money into the treasury. Then they begin to force the other producers to come in by employing their heavy capital to crush them if they do not. The Standard Oil Trust had, as is well known, the coöperation of the railroads to help them to crush out rival refiners and dealers; but such assistance cannot be reckoned on hereafter if the Commerce Act remains in force.

It is a matter for surprise that the public are willing to put their money and property thus into the hands of irresponsible persons beyond the safeguards of law. That they will do so is shown clearly enough by the rapid growth of the Cotton Oil Trust. The Standard Oil Trust is a slower growth, but a much more formidable one. It has "blazed the way" for all the others, and has excited the investing public with a vision of equally large profits to be derived from the magical name of trusts. It has kindled a new form of madness in the speculating public, such as the South Sea Company bred after its kind in London a century and a half ago. There is nothing in the history of the "bubble companies" more absurd than the present eagerness of the public to put their money in places where they can never control it again, or learn anything about it more than the "trust" chooses to tell them. Most of those who throw their money into these confidences will lose it. They certainly ought to. They will lose it not because the managers are dishonest—so far as we know anything about them, they are not—but because they are striving after the unattainable. They are striving to circumvent the law of competition over the whole of a vast continent.

The Standard Oil Trust has accomplished this end for the time being, but the Standard Oil Trust will be put to death somehow and some time, most probably by its own vaulting ambition. Having secured its oil monopoly, it is now reaching out in many different directions after other things—railroads in Virginia, steam-heating works in New York, gas wells in Pennsylvania and Ohio, etc. It may have cattle ranches in Montana, and cotton presses in Texas, and salmon canneries in Oregon for aught that anybody knows. But whether it comes to an end one way or another, it is certain that the American people will not allow themselves to be bound and strangled, like a blind Samson or an aged Laocöon, by a lot of new-fangled monopolies calling themselves trusts. A way will be found to get rid of them, and it will be a lawful way. Meanwhile we counsel the investing public to give them a wide berth.

"THE MUGWUMP IDEA."

THE Nashville (Tenn.) *American*, a Democratic journal of ability and force, is impatient

at our recent suggestion that the Administration cannot afford, at this stage in its history, to permit the use of the offices merely as patronage, and our criticism of dismissals of Republicans for purely political reasons. The *American* makes a serious blunder, however, in stating the ground of this criticism. "The Mugwump idea of civil-service reform," it says, "is to keep all Republicans in office and fill all the vacancies with Republicans."

The misconception of the Mugwump position here shown is so radical that it seems worth while to restate it correctly. To do so requires the change of only a very few words in the *American's* definition, which should read thus: The Mugwump idea of civil-service reform is to keep all faithful and competent incumbents in subordinate offices, and to fill all the vacancies with the best men who can be secured. It is understood, of course, that the small number of high offices whose incumbents necessarily have to do with the formulation or execution of a party policy are not here taken into account, since nobody disputes that a President should make changes in such offices.

It is always much easier to elucidate a principle by a few illustrations than by abstract reasoning, and we think we can make our meaning plain by referring to three or four concrete cases. Soon after Mr. Cleveland became President, the term of Mr. Henry G. Pearson as Postmaster of New York expired, and the question arose as to who should fill the office for the ensuing four years. The spoilsmen in the President's party urged that, as there was a Democratic President at Washington, there should be a Democratic Postmaster in New York, and that the President's duty was to order a competitive examination, open only to "party workers," and give the place to the applicant who could establish the strongest "claims." The Mugwump idea was that the incumbent, who had scrupulously kept out of politics and had made his office the model post office in the country, ought to be reappointed, on the simple ground that he could render the public better service than anybody else, and that the fact that he was personally a Republican in party predilections had nothing to do with the matter.

About a year later the term of the Brooklyn Postmaster expired. He had been an incompetent official, who had been given the place largely on sentimental grounds, because he had been a brave soldier and his wounds pleaded that he should be "taken care of" at the public expense. The Mugwump idea in this case was (it being assumed that the vacancy must be filled by a Democrat) that the Democrat should be selected, not who could present the strongest evidence that he deserved public reward for partisan service, or who could make out the strongest case that he needed the office because he could not earn a living in any other way, but who should appear most likely to give the Brooklyn public a businesslike administration of the office.

Since Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated, several notable cases have happened in Massachusetts where the terms of postmasters expired who had been Republicans, but not offensive partisans,

and who had conducted their offices upon business principles. The Mugwump idea in all such cases was that, these offices being purely institutions for conducting a branch of the public business, men who had proved their competency and had not been politically objectionable should be retained in charge. A case now pending in Roxbury, a suburban district of Boston, perfectly illustrates the Mugwump idea. The Post-office in Roxbury is a branch of the Boston office, and its superintendent is an old Union soldier, who began his postal service in the main office, and was promoted ten years ago to the charge of the Roxbury branch, where he has been for ten years. As an official, by universal consent, he has been quiet, gentlemanly, accommodating, and efficient in the highest degree. No complaint of failure in duty has ever been lodged against him; on the contrary, patrons of the office are enthusiastic in his praise. A Republican in party faith, he has scrupulously kept the office out of politics, and no Democrat ever found cause of grievance against him for any display of partisanship. The Mugwump idea is that such a man should be retained as head of the Roxbury office just as long as he can be had. The spoilsman's idea, on the other hand, is that he should forfeit his place to some Democrat, because he is a Republican in party faith, while there is a Democratic Administration at Washington, and a movement is now under way to secure his removal solely and avowedly upon this ground.

A case which has just come to the surface in Illinois still more pointedly illustrates the Mugwump idea by presenting the perfect flower of the opposite theory. The Post-office at Rochelle fell vacant, and it was filled in accordance with the spoils principle. The boss of the Democratic organization in that region is one McNamara, and, by virtue of that fact, McNamara was held to be the man who should dictate the choice of Postmaster at Rochelle. He recommended and thus secured the nomination of a man named Gardner, as his first choice. But Gardner turned out to be the proprietor of gin mills in three or four places, and to have been indicted for violating the liquor law, while a fresh indictment for the same offence was found when his name was before the Senate, and it had to be withdrawn. Although thus deprived of the salary himself, Gardner resolved to make something out of the office, and he offered to get the place for one Taylor, demanding \$600. Taylor was willing only to pay \$300, and a contract was drawn up on that basis, a facsimile of which has been published and is not questioned. But there was a quarrel, the negotiations finally fell through, and Taylor forwarded his papers without McNamara's endorsement. The next development was the announcement that one Furlong, a clerk in a clothing-store, with no qualifications for the office, had been appointed, and, of course, everybody believes that he got the place because he would pay what McNamara demanded.

These illustrations are enough to show what the Mugwump idea about appointments really is, in contradistinction to the spoilsman's idea. But there is one other phase of the matter to which we call the especial attention of

the American. It is also the Mugwump idea that, purely from the standpoint of party advantage, the system of filling offices upon business principles pays better than the contrary policy; and here, too, we appeal to facts, rather than indulge in theory. There is not in New York a candid person who will not admit that Mr. Cleveland's Administration is far stronger to-day with the voters of this city because he retained an efficient Republican as Postmaster than it would have been if he had appointed any Democrat. Nobody can be found in Brooklyn who will deny that the Democratic party stands better with the people of that city because Mr. Cleveland appointed as Postmaster a Democrat who runs the Post-office as a business institution than it would have been if he had picked out the shrewdest wirepuller in the party and allowed him to run it as part of the Democratic Machine. In the Roxbury case Democrats of the highest standing can be summoned as witnesses to prove that the Mugwump idea of retaining faithful postmasters is the best idea for the Democratic party. Mayor O'Brien of Boston, who is a resident of the Roxbury district, refused to sign the petition for the removal of the incumbent, being firmly convinced that he ought to be retained despite his Republicanism. Ex-Mayor Palmer is outspoken on the same side, and he says that conversation with a number of leading Democrats shows that they agree with him. These Democrats see that nothing worse could happen to their party than for it to gain a post-office at the expense of proving its disregard for the public interests. If they need any evidence to sustain this belief, they need only point any Bourbon member of their party to Rochelle, Ill., where the popular disgust with the proceedings of the spoilsmen has distinctly weakened the Democratic party. And if Rochelle is not enough, they can point the still unconvinced Bourbon to Haverhill, Ohio, where a Democratic postmaster, appointed with a flagrant disregard of Mugwump principles, the other day shot a public-spirited citizen who was trying to restrict the liquor traffic, and thus did his best as an official representative of the party to justify the "Rum" branch of the famous alliteration.

In short, and to sum up the whole matter, the Mugwump idea is that honesty is the best policy, in politics as well as in everything else.

THE KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS IN A NEW LIGHT.

EUTAW PLACE, BALTIMORE, April 22.

AMID the revived interest in the Kentucky Resolutions, caused by the publications in the *Southern Bivouac* last spring, I was asked if there were any letters or papers in the archives of my family bearing on this subject. The search made in response to this appeal was disappointing. One letter, however, was found from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Wilson Cary Nicholas of Virginia, dated August 26, 1799, which was thought at the time not to be in print. In this error I continued until a week ago, when it was found—inaccurately given—in the Congressional edition of Mr. Jefferson's works. This letter, as is seen below, plans a meeting at Monticello for the discussion between Mr. W. C. Nicholas, Mr. Madison, Mr.

Monroe, and Mr. Jefferson himself of the Kentucky Resolutions. A second letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Nicholas, written September 5, 1799, which is also given below, shows that this meeting did not take place.

Reflection on the contents of the first letter, taken in connection with those of the second, excited in me the suspicion that, when writing the Breckinridge letter twenty-three years later, his "waning memory" had played Mr. Jefferson false, and that a strange blending in his thoughts and recollections of plans with incidental occurrences had resulted in leaving us, in this letter of 1821, what may be called an epistolary composite photograph. In other words, the two letters of August 26 and September 5, 1799, taken in connection with the "great lapse of time" alluded to in the letter of 1821, suggested to me the idea that the meeting described in this last, as taking place at Monticello, had never in fact occurred. That Mr. Jefferson, under existing circumstances, should have labored under the delusion that it did take place, did not seem to me inexplicable or very strange, though, should it be proved that he had done so, it would unquestionably be both a striking and an interesting instance of misremembrance.

With my imagination captivated by this view of the subject, I determined to sift the matter to the bottom, particularly as by so doing I should but be fulfilling a promise made to a descendant of George Nicholas, to whom the lithographed copy of the Breckinridge letter in the *Southern Bivouac* did not seem conclusive proof that the original had not been written to Nelson Nicholas, son of George, the supposed recipient. Knowing that no satisfactory investigation of the subject could be made without examining the Jefferson manuscripts in Washington, I determined to do this. Access to these papers being kindly granted me, early in the summer my task began, and to make known through your columns the important discovery resulting therefrom is the object of this communication. For the personal details unavoidably thrusting themselves into it, let me at once apologize to yourself and to your readers, as well as crave your indulgence for their persistent recurrence.

With Mr. Jefferson's manuscripts before me, it was the work of but a few minutes to find his letter-book, turn to the year 1821, and find the following entries under the respective heads of received and answered:

Dec. 9, J. Cabell Breckinridge, Frankfort.

Dec. 11, J. Cabell Breckinridge.

There could be, of course, no appeal from the decision of this arbiter as to the address of the letter of December 11, 1821.

Turning to the letters themselves, I found Mr. Breckinridge's original letter which called forth Mr. Jefferson's much-discussed response. The date of Mr. Breckinridge's letter being November 19, explains how Mr. Jefferson's pen slid into the mistake of writing "your letter of Dec. 19," when he had just dated his own letter Dec. 11. Mr. Breckinridge's handsome letter is given below, and Mr. Jefferson's answer to it.

FRANKFORT, November 19, 1821.

DEAR SIR: If I had not experienced the effects of your candour and obliging indulgence on a former occasion and on a subject connected with the memory of my father, I should feel an insuperable reluctance to trouble you with this letter. A very brief narrative will explain its object.

In the *Richmond Enquirer* of September 4, in an editorial stricture on certain articles that had appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, the writer, in support of his principles, refers to the authority of your name and opinions, and expresses himself in the following words: "We protested against putting Mr. J. forth as chief of a new party, and that the doctrine we held on the great question of supremacy in cases of collision between the two governments was the doctrine of the old Republican party of Mr. Madison's report

of '98, and of the Kentucky Resolutions penned by Mr. J. himself."

Well knowing that the resolutions here alluded to were introduced into the Legislature of Kentucky by my father as his own production, I was greatly astonished by the assertion of the editor. Convinced, as I am, that the mover of the resolutions would not have consented thus to appropriate the labors even of his illustrious friend, I did believe the assertion to be untrue.

To a man the measure of whose fame and usefulness is full, an occurrence like the present may be regarded with indifference. But when you remember that the providence of God arrested at an early period the auspicious career of him whose loss we have cause so deeply to deplore, you will excuse, nay approve, the sensibility which I feel on every subject connected with his just renown. If I am not deceived in the temper of the times, the day is at hand when the struggle of '98 is to be renewed with decisive characteristics of consolidating intent, and these States are to maintain a second contest for the purity and extent of their ancient rights. At such a crisis, involving the safety and perpetuity of some of the most sacred principles of American freedom, the recollection of similar events, the corresponding sentiments and acts of departed patriots, will be revived with peculiar interest and powerful effect, and I can distinctly perceive the value of your written declarations to ensure justice to the memory of one whom, living, you largely contributed to exalt. Believing that I cannot give a better evidence of the sincerity and respect of the present application than by omitting all formal and affected apologies for having made it, I hasten to assure you of my high consideration, and to offer you my sincerest wishes for your continued health and happiness.

J. CABELL BRECKINRIDGE.

Th. Jefferson to J. Cabell Breckinridge.

MONTICELLO, December 11, 1821.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of December the 19th places me under a dilemma which I cannot solve but by an exposition of the naked truth. I would have wished this rather to have remained as hitherto, without inquiry; but your inquiries have a right to be answered. I will do it as exactly as the great lapse of time and a waning memory will enable me. I may misremember indifferent circumstances, but can be right in substance.

At the time when the Republicans of our country were so much alarmed at the proceedings of the Federal ascendancy in Congress, in the Executive and Judiciary Departments, it became a matter of serious consideration how head could be made against their enterprises on the Constitution. The leading Republicans in Congress found themselves of no use there, browbeaten as they were by a bold and overwhelming majority. They concluded to retire from that field, take a stand in the State Legislatures, and endeavor there to arrest their progress. The alien and sedition laws furnished the particular occasion. The sympathy between Virginia and Kentucky was more cordial, and more intimately confidential, than between any other two States of Republican policy. Mr. Madison came into the Virginia Legislature. I was then in the Vice-Presidency and could not leave my station; but your father, Col. W. C. Nicholas, and myself happening to be together, the engaging the cooperation of Kentucky in an energetic protestation against the constitutionality of those laws became a subject of consultation. Those gentlemen pressed me strongly to sketch resolutions for that purpose, your father undertaking to introduce them to that Legislature, with a solemn assurance, which I strictly required, that it should not be known from what quarter they came. I drew and delivered them to him, and in keeping their origin secret he fulfilled his pledge of honor. Some years after this, Colonel Nicholas asked me if I would have any objection to its being known that I had drawn them. I pointedly enjoined that it should not. Whether he had unguardedly intimated it before to any one I know not, but I afterwards observed in the papers repeated imputations of them to me; on which, as has been my practice on all occasions of imputation I have observed entire silence. The question, indeed, has never before been put to me, nor should I answer it to any other than yourself; seeing no good end to be proposed by it, and the desire of tranquility inducing with me a wish to be withdrawn from public notice. Your father's zeal and talents were too well known to derive any additional distinction from the penning these resolutions. That circumstance, surely, was of far less merit than the proposing and carrying them through the Legislature of his State. The only fact in this

statement on which my memory is not distinct, is the time and occasion of the consultation with your father and Col. Nicholas. It took place here, I know; but whether any other person was present, or communicated with, is my doubt. I think Mr. Madison was either with us, or consulted, but my memory is uncertain as to minute details. . . .

TH. JEFFERSON.

It will naturally be asked, If the above-described meeting never took place, how could Mr. Jefferson say, "Those gentlemen pressed me strongly to sketch resolutions for that purpose"? But this assertion is also easily attributable to a confused recollection of events. Mr. Madison and Mr. Nicholas must have held in fresh recollection his paper addressed, in the form of a petition from the inhabitants of certain counties in his own State, "To the Speaker and House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, being a Protest against interference of Judiciary between Representative and Constituent," written the year before; and, alarmed and excited as the Republicans seem to have been at the passage of the Alien and Sedition Laws, it is more than probable that these gentlemen should, on some occasion, have urged Mr. Jefferson to prepare a similar paper—or one that could be used in a similar way—on the subject of these laws.

In 1815 young Breckinridge wrote to Mr. Jefferson, asking him for material for a biographical notice of his father, which some one in Kentucky wished to write. Mr. Jefferson's letter in reply will not be found out of place here, explaining, as it does, Mr. Breckinridge's allusion to "a former occasion" in his letter of 1821. This letter is also important as indicating the only occasion on which the elder Breckinridge was ever at Monticello:

Thomas Jefferson to Joseph Cabell Breckinridge, Esq.:

MONTICELLO, June 13, '15.

SIR: Your favour of May 14 has been duly received, and I should willingly contribute to the biography of your estimable father whatever my short acquaintance with him and still shorter memory would enable me to do. But of historical fact this would be little; and of testimony to his merit, only what is known to all who knew him. Our acquaintance first arose soon after my return from Europe. He was so kind as to favour me with a visit, and during its short continuance I had opportunity sufficient to discern the large scope of his mind, the stores of information laid up in it, and the moral direction given to both. His subsequent appointment to Congress renewed my opportunities of estimating his character. He became one of our most valuable bulwarks in stemming the tide which then set so strongly against the Republican principles of our Government, and labored in it with the zeal and abilities for which he was distinguished. The sense I entertained of his high qualifications and merit was sufficiently proved afterwards by my calling him to our aid in the Cabinet of the Government and confiding to him the important office of Attorney-General of the United States; and his death left a chasm in our councils which we sensibly felt and sincerely lamented. In saying this I say no more than was generally known to all, and if my testimony, added to theirs, can strengthen in any degree the establishment of a character which deserved so well of his country, I give it with pleasure and in the spirit of the sincere affection I bore him. Be so good as, with it, to accept the assurance of my high regard and consideration for his family and for yourself.

The two following letters now come under consideration. Both are addressed to W. C. Nicholas:

MONTICELLO, August 26, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I am deeply impressed with the importance of Virginia and Kentucky pursuing the same track at the ensuing sessions of their Legislatures. Your going thither furnishes a valuable opportunity of effecting it, and as Mr. Madison will be at our assembly as well as yourself, I thought it important to procure a meeting between you. I therefore wrote to propose to him to ride to this place on Saturday or Sunday next, supposing that both he and yourself might perhaps have some matter of business at our court, which might render it less inconvenient for you to be here on Sunday. I took it for granted that you would

not set off for Kentucky pointedly at the time you proposed, and hope and strongly urge your favouring us with a visit at the time proposed. Mrs. Madison, who was the bearer of my letter, assured me I might count on Mr. M.'s being here. Not that I mentioned to her the object of my request, or that I should propose the same to you; because I presume the less said of such a meeting the better. I shall take care that Monroe shall dine with us. In hopes of seeing you, I bid you affectionately adieu.

TH. JEFFERSON.

MONTICELLO, September 5, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Yours of August 30 came duly to hand. It was with great regret we gave up the hope of seeing you here, but could not but consider the obstacle as legitimate. I had written to Mr. Madison, as I had before informed you, and had stated to him some general ideas for consideration and consultation when we should meet. I thought something essentially necessary to be said, in order to avoid the inference of acquiescence; that a declaration or resolution should be passed. . . . As to the preparing anything, I must decline it, to avoid suspicions (which were pretty strong in some quarters on the late occasion), and because there remains still (after their late loss) a mass of talents in Kentucky sufficient for every purpose. The only object of the present communication is to procure a concert in the general plan of action, as it is extremely desirable that Virginia and Kentucky should pursue the same track on this occasion. Besides, how could you better while away the road from hence to Kentucky, than in meditating this very subject, and preparing something yourself, than whom nobody will do it better! The loss of your brother and the visit of the apostle Marshall to Kentucky excite anxiety. However, we doubt not that his poisons will be effectually counterworked. Wishing you a pleasant journey and happy return. I am with great and sincere esteem, dear sir, your affectionate friend and servant.

TH. JEFFERSON.

The mistake in the published copy of the first of these two letters, alluded to above, is the slight but obviously misleading one of putting "Mrs. Monroe," instead of simply "Monroe," as in the original.

In the letter of August, 1799, we have a meeting planned which the September letter of that year proves did not take place. In the letter of 1821 we have a description, written twenty three years after its alleged occurrence, of a not dissimilar meeting. In the September letter (in a passage omitted in the foregoing excerpt) Mr. Jefferson speaks of "Mr. M., who came," and in the letter of 1821 he thinks "Mr. Madison was with us or consulted." In the "great lapse of time," had not what he had planned in writing been all unconsciously transformed in his thoughts and recollections into an actual occurrence? Did not the octogenarian build better than he knew when he alluded to that "great lapse of time" and to "a waning memory"? Might not he, in looking back through the long vista of years—for him so crowded with events and scenes of excitement—have not only misremembered "indifferent circumstances," but have been also somewhat wrong "in substance"?

With this view of the subject more and more strongly possessing my mind, those who know what it is to face a reluctant past, with the determination to wring from it, if possible, a long-kept secret, can appreciate the feelings with which I sat down before the bound volume of Mr. Jefferson's letters covering the years 1798-1799. The search for anything bearing on the subject in hand seemed a hopeless task as I turned over page after page of letter-press copies on almost all of whose time-stained sheets the writing had faded away into illegibility. The intense satisfaction which I felt is not, therefore, to be described when suddenly the monotony of the dingy-hued letter-press copies was broken by the appearance in their midst of a white sheet of letter-paper, covered with Mr. Jefferson's autographic writing; the letters and words being so clear and distinct that a single glance caught names which instantly attracted attention. As

it tells its own story, let this messenger of the past speak for itself:

Copy of a letter to Wilson C. Nicholas. Time not permitting a press copy, this was immediately written from recollection and is nearly verbatim.

MONTICELLO, October 5, '98.

DR. SIR: I entirely approve of the confidence you have reposed in Mr. Breckinridge, as he possesses mine entirely. I had imagined it better these resolutions should have originated with N. Carolina, but perhaps the late changes in their representation may indicate some doubt whether they would have passed. In that case it is better they should come from Kentucky. I understand you intend soon to go as far as Mr. Madison's. You know I have no secrets for him. I wish him, therefore, to be consulted as to these resolutions. The post-boy waiting at the door obliges me to finish here with the assurance of the high esteem of Dr. Sir,

Your friend and servant,

TH. JEFFERSON.

WILSON CARY NICHOLAS.

See his letter of October 4, '98, to which this is an answer.

So, then, the author of these famous resolutions had forgotten, when he sat down to write their history twenty-three years later, that they were originally intended for North Carolina, and it does seem impossible to believe, with the above letter before us, that their composition by him could have resulted from any such conference as the one described in his letter of 1821. The choice of North Carolina as the State in which the resolutions should originate was probably made because of a suggestion in regard to that State and Virginia which had been made by John Taylor of Caroline, to which Mr. Jefferson refers in a letter to him of June 1, 1798.

The recovery of the very important letter of October 4, 1798, from Mr. Nicholas to Mr. Jefferson, has so far baffled all efforts in the search which is being made for it. Until it is found, the story of the resolutions must remain incomplete, and in its absence it may seem bold to hazard a conjecture concerning an historical question whose investigation has been but a succession of surprises. If one might be ventured, however, it would be that Mr. Jefferson intrusted the resolutions to his most intimate friend, Mr. W. C. Nicholas; that the latter decided to have them introduced into the Kentucky Legislature by Mr. Breckinridge, and, having an opportunity of sending them to Kentucky, sent a post boy to Monticello, some twenty miles away from his own home, to get Mr. Jefferson's final approval of his course. Whether George Nicholas was called on to take any prominent part in this matter remains an open question, for Mr. Jefferson's allusions to him in his letter of September 5, 1799, would seem to imply that he had been, as the expression in that letter "their loss" refers to his death, on which greater stress still is laid at the close of that letter. And here it is proper for me to say that when my father edited his grandfather's correspondence, and boldly placed at the head of the letter of December 11, 1821, the address To — Nicholas, he did so under the impression that the Kentucky Resolutions of '98 had been intrusted to George Nicholas. That this was his impression tended naturally to strengthen the probability that such was the case, for he could have received such an impression only from his grandfather, Mr. Jefferson, and from his father-in-law, Mr. W. C. Nicholas, with both of whom he was, in their declining years, in constant and intimate intercourse. It is easy to see how my father may have been misled by hearing through them of the great talents of George Nicholas, of his boundless influence in Kentucky, and of the zealous and effective warfare which he waged against the Alien and Sedition Laws. His attacks on these were embodied in a vigorously writ-

ten pamphlet, which Mr. Jefferson considered a strong weapon of attack, for we find him writing about it in February, 1790, and sending it by the dozen to his lieutenants, to be given "to the most influential characters among our countrymen, who are only misled, who are candid enough to be open to conviction, and who may have most effect on their neighbors. It would be useless to give them to persons already sound. Do not let my name be connected with the business." (Jefferson to Monroe.)

John Taylor of Caroline must have been sounded by Mr. W. C. Nicholas as regards the resolutions for the Virginia Legislature, for in a most interesting letter from him to Mr. Nicholas lying before me, dated October 27, 1798, he says: "It is out of my power to meet you at the parsonage. . . . But if you have any scheme of efficacy in hand you will find me apt. But observe I abhor all 'resolutions' and addresses." I find still more interesting words from him—words which explain Mr. Jefferson's allusions, in a letter already quoted, to suspicions "which were pretty strong in some quarters on the late occasion." In an undated letter headed: "J. Taylor to the Vice-President," he says: "Some resolutions have appeared here from Kentucky, not passed but on the eve of passing that Legislature. As soon as they appear authenticated, the great effort will be directed to their approbation in the words of a response. I would not wish my inclinations gratified by the slightest risk on your part—it is obvious that the common cause would thence also be exposed to injury—but whatever can be safely said will be highly gratifying.—Health and happiness."

Curiously illustrating how the years '98 and '99 were confounded by him whenever they came up in connection with the Kentucky Resolutions, Mr. Jefferson has written on the back of this undated letter: "Probably '99, rec'd Dec. 11," when it is quite impossible for it to be any year but 1798.

The last communication from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Nicholas in connection with this subject during 1798 comes in the following:

Th. J. to Col. W. C. Nicholas.

The more I have reflected on the phrase in the paper you showed me, the more strongly I think it should be altered. Suppose you were, instead of the invitation to cooperate in the annulment of the acts, to make it an invitation to concur with this commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the said acts are, and were *ab initio*, null and of no force or effect.—Health, happiness and adieu.—November 29, '98.

A perusal of the full text of Mr. Jefferson's letter of September 5, 1799, to Mr. Nicholas shows that this letter was the basis of the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799.

It is a long cry from 1805 to 1887, and yet a letter I have found from Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Nicholas, written March, 1805, shows his situation, between "conflicting" friends, to be so similar to that of his worthy successor, the present chief magistrate of the nation, that the coincidence of this letter coming to light just at this time is too striking for the following quotation from it not to be published:

"I did believe my station in March, 1801, as painful as could be undertaken, having to meet in front all the terrible passions of Federalism in the first moments of its defeat and mortification, and to grapple with it until completely subdued; but I consider that as less painful than to be placed between conflicting friends. There my way was clear and my mind made up. I never for a moment had to balance between two opinions. In the new divisions which are to arise, the case will be very different. Even those who seem to coalesce will be like the image of clay and brass. However, under difficulties of this kind I have ever found one, and one only, rule, to do what is right, and generally we shall disentangle ourselves without almost perceiving how it happens."

Happy the people whose ruler follows this simple rule for "disentangling" himself from the difficulties of his situation; and congratulating ourselves that so it is with us of to-day, I close with an apology for the length of this letter, which an awkward pen could not abridge.

SARAH NICHOLAS RANDOLPH.

P. S.—My letter was written and signed when, on reading it to a friend, it was found that he had, among letters sent him by a member of the Breckinridge family, one from Mr. Nicholas which makes up for the loss of his of October 4, 1798, to Mr. Jefferson. Strangely coming forward at the eleventh hour, as it were, it is the finishing proof of the non-occurrence of the meeting at Monticello, and thus confirms the theory to that effect put forward in the opening of this communication to the *Nation*, from which the letter itself cannot be omitted.

To John Breckinridge.

WARREN, October 10, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I have been very sick since you left me. . . . I have had a letter from our friend. He approves what I have done. He says you possess his confidence entirely—that he thinks the business had better commence in your State. He regrets that he missed the visit that you and your brother intended him, though he is sensible of the delicacy and motives of the omission. He suggests nothing further upon the subject; indeed, I think that everything is said that can be in the paper that you have. I shall be impatient to hear from you. God bless you and yours. Believe me to be your real friend,

WILSON C. NICHOLAS.

And now that the only missing link in the chain of facts connected with the origin of the Kentucky Resolutions is found and their history made complete by its recovery, I may be pardoned for expressing my gratification that it has fallen to the lot of a descendant reverently to lift the veil which, in obscuring the venerable statesman's memory, has so long concealed from posterity the truth.

S. N. R.

AN EXHIBITION OF PHOTOGRAPHS AT LIVERPOOL.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, }
LIVERPOOL, April 18, 1887. }

DURING the past twelve months it has been my agreeable duty to select and gather together a series of reproductions, as complete as possible, of the frescoes, easel-pictures, and drawings by Raphael. A somewhat similar collection in the Windsor Library was formed by the late Prince Consort, but photography was in its infancy in his days, and engravings form the chief part of that collection. My work was of novel character, and a description of it may not be without interest, for reasons which will hereafter appear.

Possessed of a preliminary acquaintance with the usual Raphael literature, I went to Berlin, where, in the Print Room of the Museum (and there only in the world, so far as I know), there is a large collection of photographs arranged not, in the first instance, according to galleries, but under the names of the artists whose works they reproduce. If you inquire for photographs of Raphael's works, you are shown a large press containing some score of portfolios, each holding 100 or less mounted photographs. These photographs are grouped under the galleries and private collections in which the originals occur, and include all works ascribed, rightly or wrongly, to the artist. The first thing was to go systematically through these, or rather through the various works on Raphael, one by one, referring to the photograph of every work mentioned and verifying statements made about it. By this means was formed an approximately correct list of all the genuine works by Raphael which have been photographed, and the list was drawn up in chronological order. This part of the work took about

six weeks. The one to two thousand photographs purchasable of works ascribed to Raphael reduced themselves to about 500 photographs of genuine works.

The next thing was to go through all procurable photographers' catalogues (those, for example, of Braun, the Berlin Photographic Co., Häf-stängl, Brogi, Alinari, Naya, Perini), in order to see whether genuine works other than those to be found in the Berlin collection were not photographed. A considerable number were thus added.* Correspondence with directors of galleries and owners of works by Raphael enabled me to supply a few omissions.

When the complete list was formed, the photographs were ordered *en masse*, unmounted. They were mounted at home on uniform cards, and the few that were too big for the normal card, all of them frescoes, were frankly cut in half and mounted on two cards hinged together, the line of severance being almost imperceptible. Seven boxes were made, numbered, and lettered on the back, and the photographs were arranged in these boxes in chronological order, so that all the studies, designs, and cartoons for any picture, however scattered in various collections they might be, were grouped immediately before the picture itself. The entire series was then numbered, spaces being left for works known to exist but not yet photographed. Upon each card the subject of the work was written, and if the photograph represented a study for a picture, that also was stated. The date, if known, was added, and (most important of all) references to pages in the principal lives of the artist, or to special articles in magazines of high scientific standing dealing with the particular work. A cabinet to hold the boxes was all that was needed to make the collection complete. All the cards (except those hinged) being the same size, it was easy to have a number of frames made with movable backs fastened in by bars. The collection, thus framed and chronologically arranged, now hangs for public exhibition on the walls of two of the largest rooms in the Walker Art Gallery at Liverpool, where any of your readers who may chance to pass through the town during the next couple of months will be able to see it for themselves. A catalogue has been printed by the Museum Committee, in which I have endeavored to mention *all* known works of whatever kind by Raphael, adding the name of the photographer and the number of the photograph to each. Any one who likes to duplicate the collection can do so, for about £150, by help of this catalogue (sold by the Museum), not counting any duties there may be payable on this kind of intellectual luxury.

What has thus been done for Raphael might be done less completely, but fairly satisfactorily, for his chief contemporaries, predecessors, and successors north and south of the Alps. Heliogravure has been and is being employed to reproduce the works of the early engravers. The block-books, too, have been well reproduced. The Arundel Society's publications must not be forgotten. Medieval miniatures have been photographed in considerable numbers. Early tapestries, such as the large collection at Madrid, have been published in photographic form. If we were to include photographs of ivory carvings, goldsmiths' work, medals, coins, wood carvings, details of sculpture, and architecture—still more, if we were to add casts of small objects

* The Oxford collection is very partially photographed, the Frankfurt collection not at all. Braun is said to be about to put an end to this scandalous state of things. Pictures and drawings in private collections in England are, of course, never photographed, notwithstanding the unrivalled opportunities for doing so which the old masters' exhibitions have afforded. Private collections in France are a little better, but still badly recorded. It is a scandal to the National Gallery authorities that no proper photograph of the Ansidei Madonna has yet been published.

and electrotype reproductions—we should have the materials for the formation of a museum of extraordinary interest and no small dimensions. Confining ourselves, however, to the graphic arts, the materials existing in the form of reproductions of works which may be regarded as having attained classical rank, amply suffice for the formation of a collection the educational value of which it is impossible to overestimate. On a small scale such a collection might be formed by a private collector with immense advantage to himself. It would require absorbingly interesting study. Such, however, is the slowness of men to move into new grooves of activity that I have been assured by a photographer that it would not pay him to photograph for sale a pen-and-ink drawing which the day before had been sold for over £500 at Christie's. That is to say, people are so anxious to exclude others from the possession of a piece of paper which bears a unique drawing, that they will bid a purchaser up to £500 before giving way and letting him have it; and yet they care so little about the thing as a work of art that, though they might purchase for half a crown a perfect and permanent reproduction of it (to all intents as good as the original), not a dozen would buy it even at that small price. Vulgarly of heart could scarcely go deeper.

The difficulty in the way of the formation of such a collection as I have sketched lies, not in finding materials, but in selection and arrangement. If the collection is to be of any use, it must be formed by a scholar. To purchase all the photographs of works ascribed to this and the other master and to lump them together would be to purchase an expensive chaos. Only genuine or probably genuine works must be represented, and they must be arranged chronologically under the names of the artists by whom they were made. The artists should be grouped chronologically in schools, and a complete catalogue should be prepared. Such a catalogue, made and published for one collection by a competent scholar, might serve for any number of duplicate collections. It seems incredible that, with all the talk about art in the present day, all the interest professed in it, all the trouble and discomfort people go through with the avowed object of travelling hither and thither to see its masterpieces, there should yet be so little real desire for and delight in it that no town has yet attempted to form for itself such a rational collection as the one I have described. There is a photographic chaos here and there, but not one collection historically cosmic. If a single town of importance would lead the way, others would probably follow; and the large commercial and manufacturing towns of America and the north of England are certainly the very places where such collections should be formed.

The chief impediment now to the would be collector is his natural disinclination to buy photographs which in a few years will have faded away. Evanescent silver-prints are published by photographers because the public likes their nasty color and unpleasant gloss. Braun's autotypes and the heliogravures of the Berlin Photographic Company are infinitely pleasanter to look at, and will last as long as the paper they are printed on. If collections of the kind I advocate were as common as public libraries are (and one such ought to form part of every public library and museum), the demand for permanent photographs would soon create the supply, and Alinari, Brogi, and the rest would find it to their interest to cater for a more educated and discerning public than the one they now supply.

W. M. CONWAY.

FLAUBERT'S CORRESPONDENCE.

PARIS, April 22, 1887.

GUSTAVE FLAUBERT acquired a great reputation by his novel 'Madame Bovary.' This reputation was not increased by his later works. 'Madame Bovary' remains the type of the modern realistic novel; it has exercised a real influence on our literature. Flaubert may be considered as the father of our naturalists, impressionists, and so forth. His correspondence with Mme. Sand was published a few years ago, and was read with much interest. We have now before us the first volume of a new series, which will embrace his whole correspondence. It extends from 1830 to 1850, and is preceded by a preface of the editor, who is Flaubert's own niece, Mme. Caroline Comainville. Gustave Flaubert was educated with his sister Caroline, who was the mother of this lady. She tells us that he was not a brilliant scholar, and that his college years were miserable; he could never yield to the military discipline which is still kept up in the French lycées. He composed tragedies from his earliest years, and played them with his sister and his friends.

Flaubert has given a sketch of his own father in 'Madame Bovary,' under the name of Dr. Larivière, who is called in consultation before the dying Emma. He was the son of a veterinary surgeon of Nogent-sur-Seine, and had become a doctor in an hospital in Rouen. He married a Mlle. Fleuriot, who was allied to some of the oldest families of Normandy, but without any fortune, except a little farm which yielded 4,000 francs a year. He became the surgeon-in-chief of the Hôtel-Dieu in Rouen, and Gustave Flaubert was born in this immense edifice. It is probable that he inherited from his father the tendency to experimentation, to the minute observation of the smallest and apparently most indifferent details, which is the characteristic of his literary school. As a child, he could look from his window on the gardens of the hospital, and see, under the trees, the sick walking or sitting on the stone benches, the sisters of charity in their black and white dresses—a melancholy and severe spectacle, which developed in him the sentiment of compassion for human suffering.

Flaubert, who always detested the "bourgeois," was very bourgeois in his habits:

"This man," says his niece, "so concerned for beauty of style, cared very little about the beauty of his surroundings: he used objects and furniture which were heavy and ungraceful; he had not in the least the passion for the *bubelot*, which is so developed in our time. He loved order passionately, and carried it to mania; he would not work unless his books were arranged in a certain fashion. He kept carefully all the letters which were addressed to him. I have found great boxes full of them. He always had the greatest regularity in his daily work; he put himself to it as an ox is put to the plough, without waiting for the inspiration."

Flaubert's father, having attained a high medical situation, was able to buy a country house at Croisset, on the Seine, where Flaubert spent nearly all his life. When he left the college, his father wished him to adopt a profession; he came to Paris and studied law. He took a little apartment in the Latin Quarter, but the student's life did not suit him. He felt a decided literary calling. He disliked Paris, and, as his health began to suffer, he returned to Rouen. His sister was married; his father died, and he soon remained alone with his mother. He had made in Paris the acquaintance of Maxime Du Camp, who had a more adventurous spirit, and who induced him to make a journey with him into Brittany, and, in 1849, a more important voyage in the East. The personal reminiscences of his niece begin at the time of his return; she was a child, and her uncle undertook to provide for her education.

She describes very vividly the life which they led at the country house in Croisset, the habits of her uncle. She called him "mon vieux," and he called her "mon caro." He was a sort of giant, full of kindness, of affection, and he continued to give his niece lessons in history and geography till she was married. He lived for months at Croisset without seeing anybody outside of his family but his intimate friend, Louis Bouilhet. Three or four times a year he left for Paris, and stayed there, a few days only, in the Hôtel du Helder.

In 1850, however, when he decided to publish 'Madame Bovary,' he took rooms on the Boulevard du Temple, and his sister joined him. He sometimes gave little dinners for Sainte Beuve, Sandeau, Mme. Cornu (who was the so intimate friend of Napoleon III.), Théophile Gautier, and a few others. He was a constant guest of the Princess Mathilde Bonaparte, who received artists and writers, and who still has her salon. He was admitted to the famous dinners of Maguy, which were composed only of himself, of Sainte Beuve, Gautier, the two Goncourts, Gavarni, Renan, Taine, the Marquis de Chennevières, and Bouilhet.

In 1860 he began 'Salammbô,' and thought it necessary to make a journey to Tunis, and to see the site of Carthage. His niece was married in 1864, and he found himself more solitary. Mme. Comainville only made two visits a year to Croisset—one in the spring, one in the autumn. He never liked to leave his own house for any length of time. We had always been ignorant of the secret of this extraordinary fondness for solitude, but it has recently been revealed by Maxime Du Camp. With every appearance of health and strength, Flaubert had in him the germ of a frightful disease: he was subject to fits of epilepsy. He was half a doctor; he knew the symptoms of his malady, and when he felt that a crisis was coming, he rushed to Croisset, where he felt less in danger. It seems hard to live with such a sword of Damocles over your head. This perpetual fear, the nervous state which it created and which caused the malady, explain much in Flaubert that otherwise could not be well understood. It explains the great attachment which he felt for his family, and which his family felt for him. They treated him always as a sick man, as a spoiled child; they never crossed him in anything. They admired him and his works, as if their admiration, mixed with pity and tenderness, might work a cure. The family affections which filled the life of Flaubert had one disadvantage—they developed his self-love and his vanity to an almost alarming extent; they isolated him too much from his contemporaries. Flaubert grew up, as it were, in a hothouse. He pretended to be a naturalist, a realist; but, in fact, he saw very little of life. The best pages of 'Madame Bovary' are the descriptions of Normandy, of Rouen, of the Seine, of the pictures which he saw from morning to night. Paris was to him almost a *terra incognita*. His circle was small; he was morbid, afraid of making new acquaintances, intolerant, narrow-minded. His family overrated him, and he overrated himself—not from any feeling of foolish pride, but from a sort of inability to understand what was outside of his provincial horizon. One thing must be admired in him—he was sincere, he really believed in himself. He also had a warm heart, and his own mental and physical sufferings had developed in him a power of affection, of sympathy, of compassion, which is shown even better in his correspondence than in his novels.

His niece tells us more discreetly than Maxime Du Camp that he was highly nervous: "This love of tranquillity, which he exaggerated afterwards, began already to exercise a sort of tyranny over his smallest actions. After a few days [she is

speaking of his visits to her after her marriage I saw that he became nervous, and I felt that he wished to return to his beloved work. For ten years our lives became in consequence less mingled, except in the month of April, 1871." This year 1871 was the year of the war. Mme. Comainville had taken refuge in England, and when she came back she found Flaubert very much altered. He had abandoned Croisset during the hostilities, for fear of coming in contact in his own house with the invaders, and had taken lodgings in Rouen, on one of the quays. His house at Croisset had been occupied by soldiers; to his great surprise, when he returned to it he found everything as he left it—nothing had disappeared except a few knives, paper-cutters, maps.

In 1875 the husband of Mme. Comainville lost all his fortune in some commercial speculations. Mme. Comainville was married under the *régime dotal*, common in Normandy, and could only dispose of a part of her fortune to help her husband. Flaubert made up the rest, and, with extreme generosity, gave all that he possessed in order to save the credit of his niece's husband. He kept nothing except a rent which his niece engaged to pay him during his lifetime, and the product of his writings. These writings had never brought him much money; he liked to tell that Michel Lévy had paid him only 500 francs for the right to publish 'Madame Bovary' for ten years. It is true that a few years afterwards he had given him 10,000 francs for 'Salammbô.' Every sacrifice was made in order that Croisset should not be sold. Flaubert could not well have lived anywhere else, and it was decided that he should remain there, and that in Paris he should have rooms in the house where the Comainvilles lived. The intimacy became as great, as complete as ever, and Flaubert spent nearly all his time with his niece. She tells how he discussed with her the most abstruse subjects. He had become very much preoccupied with religious speculations; he felt an extraordinary attraction for conventual life; he admired the hermits—was he not himself a hermit? He longed to know the Buddhists. He often read the Bible, and went into ecstasies over verses of Isaiah, of David. "Reflect," he used to say to his niece, "reflect on this—*creuse-moi ça*."

Flaubert lost his friends one after another. His relations with Maxime Du Camp had become more and more infrequent, for reasons unknown to us. Mme. Comainville tells us in a note that she had asked Maxime Du Camp to give her the letters of Flaubert which he had in his possession, and that she met with a refusal. She accuses him, on the other hand, of having in his own memoirs published a letter of Flaubert's without the authorization of Flaubert's family. It is easy to judge that the Comainvilles counted for something in the coldness of the two men who had so long been intimate, and who had travelled together in their youth all over the East.

The friendship of Mme. Sand was one of the consolations of Flaubert in the latter part of his life, a friendship which their correspondence shows to have been warm and disinterested in the extreme. He also found much enjoyment in the conversation of Edmond de Goncourt and of Ivan Turgeneff, but he lived more and more solitary in his own family circle. We owe to this love of solitude not only his works, but the long correspondence which he has left; he spent himself, not in conversations, but in letters.

The first part of the correspondence now published shows us a young Flaubert, full of enthusiasm, of plans, of system. He is in the full bloom of youth. His love letters to Mme. X. were hardly worth publishing. We much prefer the letters in which he gives an account of his journeys. They are very graphic, very true—he gives his impressions with an absolute sincerity.

They are familiar, also, but at times, especially during his Eastern tour, he becomes unconsciously a great writer. Take this phrase, for instance, lost among many others in a letter written from Damascus, September 4, 1850: "At midday, at the hottest hour, when light falls perpendicularly, when we go on without speaking on our thin and wiry horses, and when the tired mules stretch towards the wind their gums, whitened by thirst, then is the time when the lizards come out of the hollow trunk of the olive trees, and when on no-pal hedges comes forward, with lifted paws, the prudent chameleon, rolling its round eyes."

The journey in the East, which fills half this first volume, is readable; it has great freshness and color, and we can understand, in reading it, what we never did before, why Flaubert was tempted to write 'Salammbô.'

Correspondence.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT CROTONA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The exploration made in Magna Græcia during the past winter, by Messrs. Clarke and Emerson, under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America, has been somewhat prematurely brought to public attention in a letter from these gentlemen published in the *Nation* of April 21, and in a letter from Professor Lanciani in the following number.

A brief account of the excavations on the site of the temple of Hera Lakinia at Crotona, which is soon to appear in the Eighth Annual Report of the Archaeological Institute, will show that the work here was attended with discoveries of great interest, and with promise of results of still higher importance, until it was brought to an end by the interference of the Italian authorities, and the reinterrment, under their direction, of the objects thus far discovered.

The motive for this action on the part of the Italian Government is stated to have been the failure by the explorers to obtain from the central authorities the requisite permission to conduct the work. It is much to be regretted that there should have been any error or misunderstanding in this respect. Permission to undertake the work was obtained from the local authorities, which it was believed was sufficient (under the general regulations concerning explorations directed to the scientific investigation of a special monument of antiquity, and not to the obtaining of antique remains for the purpose of removing them from the site) to justify the explorers in their entering upon the work without a special permit from the authorities at Rome. The ground on which the remains of the famous temple are found is private property, and the owner, who is also the Mayor of Crotona, was unwilling that any permit but that of the local authorities should be applied for. The reason of his objection lay in the fact that, some four years since, the Government had desired to expropriate against his will that part of his estate on which the temple stood, and he had successfully maintained his rights in the courts of law. Under these circumstances the course adopted by Mr. Clarke seems to have been neither unreasonable nor unjustifiable. On receiving the first warning, work was at once stopped, and a few days afterwards Mr. Clarke and Mr. Emerson left the site, a party of soldiers of the coast guard having meanwhile seized the antiquities discovered, and thrown them back into the open trenches. The owner of the site has now brought suit against the Government for this action on the part of its officials, and until the suit is decided work cannot be resumed.

It will be matter of deep regret to all students of Greek antiquity in Italy if the investigations happily begun, by competent archaeologists, of the most interesting temple in Magna Græcia, should be permanently interrupted by this action of the Italian Government. It would seem that whatever error of procedure on the part of the explorers had been committed, it might have been better corrected than by the summary closing of the work.

I desire to express the grateful acknowledgments of the Archaeological Institute to Professor Lanciani for the excellent advice he gave at the outset in respect to the project of investigations in Magna Græcia, and for his cordial furtherance of the design in every mode within his power.—Your obedient servant,

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON,

President of the Archaeological Institute of America.

CAMBRIDGE, May 2, 1887.

WESTERN MORTGAGES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will you not say a word of warning against the very large investments now being made in these securities? Sooner or later trouble must come. This influx of money among the mortgagors is producing widespread speculation; then will come money troubles in those regions, frantic efforts on the part of Eastern investors to get back their principal, which, under such circumstances, the borrowers cannot pay without ruin; then *sci. fa.s.*, stay laws, etc., and much suffering on both sides. A little common sense should check all this in time. L.

Notes.

WE are glad to learn that by a year from this time we may look for the fourth volume of Schouler's 'History of the United States,' which will bring the narrative down to the close of the Mexican War. This work is one of the most important fruits of that return to historic studies which the rooting out of slavery permitted to the generation that survived the war.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. publish this week 'Connecticut,' by Prof. Alexander Johnston, in the American Commonwealth Series.

'Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow,' by Samuel Longfellow, illustrated, and containing the journals and letters of the last twelve years of the poet's life; and two novels, 'The Devil's Hat,' by Melville Phillips, and 'Lights and Shadows of a Life,' by Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren, are to be published directly by Ticknor & Co.

Cassell & Co. announce 'The Yoke of Thorah,' by Sydney Lusk, and 'Pen Portraits of Literary Women,' by Miss Helen Gray Cone and Miss Jeannette L. Gilder, who deal with English women only, George Sand and Mrs. Stowe excepted.

The *édition de luxe* of George Eliot's works undertaken by Estes & Lauriat will shortly be begun with 'Daniel Deronda,' for which Frederic Dielman has made a drawing of Gwendolin.

A. C. McClurg & Co. will be the American publishers of the new edition of Wharton and Symonds's 'Sappho,' which will be enlarged, and illustrated with a facsimile of a newly discovered fragment of the works of the poetess from the Egyptian Museum in Berlin.

The poet Cowley is one of the most inaccessible of English classics to the taste of our century, but for mere style and not infrequently for hard-packed sense he is worth some attention; while as an illustration of the vices incident to literary

culture he is a most effective example. He is now renovated for a while by being included in the Cambridge Press Classics, by Rev. J. Rawson Lumby, D.D., who edits his *Prose Works* (New York: Macmillan), with a biographical sketch, notes, etc. The scientific curiosity bevinces and his argument for agricultural schools are noticeable marks of Cowley's mind; but his boast that he had endeavored to plant poetry "almost wholly with divinity" (*i. e.*, of the Church, not the Muses) is a more tell-tale characteristic. For a student of style and a lover of Latinity, this volume holds excellent matter, not excluding the verses, and the editorial work is very copiously and faithfully done.

The elegant Book-Lover's Library, of which we have noticed several volumes, is increased by Henry B. Wheatley's *Dedication of Books to Patron and Friend* (A. C. Armstrong & Son). It is called in a sub-title "a chapter of literary history," but it consists almost wholly of selections from authors' dedications from the first down to Vernon Lee. There is more elegance than humor and more lying than truth in them, as was to be expected; the author as a generic being would appear more respectable if this whole chapter could be wiped out. Dedications at once genuine and noble are few. Mr. Wheatley, it should be said, makes ample acknowledgment of the existence of Mr. Huth's similar work.

That indefatigable and eminently useful English scholar, Prof. Henry Morley, has begun a *magnum opus* under the title 'English Writers: an Attempt toward a History of English Literature' (Cassell & Co.). The work is to be completed in twenty volumes, published half-yearly. The first volume is a substantial small octavo of 350 pages, and contains a general introduction, setting forth succinctly the periods of English literature with reference to foreign influences in the main, down to Wordsworth and his group. The remainder of the volume describes, with much detail, the origins of the earliest English as a matter of history simply, and afterwards deals with the literary relics of these people, the old Celtic literature, 'Beowulf,' and other Anglo-Saxon pieces, with considerable thoroughness. Prof. Morley's method of treatment and his very strong moral prepossession are well known, and in this first volume there is nothing that calls for extended comment. It is to be hoped that nothing will occur to interrupt this long task which Prof. Morley has set for himself; his studies have made him ripe for a most valuable labor in a field of which the vast extent and innumerable relations are little realized except by the expert.

It is easy to see how Mr. A. E. Costello might have reduced the bulk of his great volume, 'Our Firemen: A History of the New York Fire Departments, Volunteer and Paid' (New York: Published by the Author). This is his own analysis of chapter xxii., which is entitled "The City's Unprecedented Progress": "Markets and their Ancient Mode of Doing Business.—New York takes Rank as the Third City in Christendom, and Exceeds in Expenditure any other Municipality in the World.—Its Growth and Prosperity Unparalleled.—Ancient Nomenclature of Streets.—Reduction in the Rate of Taxation.—Sales of Real Estate.—Public Works and Construction of Drives and Parks.—The Croton and the Aqueduct." Here is surely an intolerable deal of sack for the one-half-pennyworth of bread tossed at the end to the patient reader. But if we cannot praise the composition of this book, or dwell upon it as literature, we may commend it for a large amount of information, much of it readable, concerning one of the best institutions produced in our municipal development. It is copiously illustrated, and contains a large number

of portraits with accompanying biographical sketches.

A volume has been made of the 'History of the Soldiers' Monument in Waterbury, Conn.,' which is told by the Rev. Joseph Anderson, one of the chief promoters of the enterprise. The cost of the shaft and symbolic statuary was defrayed chiefly by popular subscription, the town taxing itself only for the foundation. Dr. Anderson thinks this instance unique in the annals of soldiers' monuments. The unusual success of the design (if one may judge from the photographs) is probably not to be ascribed to the mode of raising the money, but to fortuitous circumstances. We make this remark because the author hopes his 'History' will promote imitation of the Waterbury plan.

The report of the State Geologist of New Jersey for the past year contains a supplementary table of geographical positions, in which we notice some that are adjacent to the State, as, the New York pier of the Brooklyn bridge (lat. 40° 42' 23.57"; long. 73° 59' 35.51"); a report on the Archæan rocks, by Dr. N. L. Britton, and on the Palæozoic rocks (Green Pond Mts., etc.), by Mr. F. J. H. Merrill, who also discusses in an interesting manner the yellow-gravel deposit of the southern part of New Jersey. There is the usual survey of the mining progress of the twelvemonth, and a report on the greensand marls is reprinted from an earlier document. The completion of the great Topographic Atlas is set down for next year. Sheets 6 and 7 will meantime undergo a revision, as they were originally partly compiled from local surveys.

The new Register of Cornell University is noteworthy for its definite programme of the School of Law which is to be opened on September 25, and for the announcement that the several branches of history, political economy, social science, and international law have been consolidated administratively, and are to be hereafter named "The President White School of History and Political Science"—a designation eminently proper as a grateful memorial, if a little long to be spoken trippingly.

Our readers cannot fail to be interested in the letter from Prof. Conway which we print on another page. The example which he recommends for imitation in this country opens up a new field for public spirit. In the case of Liverpool, the collection described, although the property of University College, will always be open for inspection to any person desirous of consulting it. A revised edition of the catalogue of the Raphael exhibition in the Walker Art Gallery will be issued in the course of another year.

In *Modern Language Notes* for May, Julius Goebel prints side by side Henry Carey's "Sally in Our Alley" and Goethe's "Der Goldschmied-gesell," arguing that the former poem suggested the latter, of which the metre is the same and the contents sufficiently similar. Edward Allen Fay, author of a 'Concordance of the Divina Commedia' shortly to appear, prints a list of words used only, so far as he knows, by Dante; and Thomas Davidson sets down some queer unrecorded (Aberdeenshire) Scotch words not found in Jamieson.

Gen. Sherman, by a title which will not be disputed, criticises, in the *North American Review* for May, Gen. Wolsley's eulogium of Gen. Lee, which has lately been the subject of controversy in these columns. No admirer of Lee can take exception to the spirit in which his character as a man and as a soldier is discussed. Gen. Sherman denies him emphatically a military preëminence over Grant, and very forcibly contrasts the burden laid upon the two in the closing years of the war, when Grant's command embraced the continental range of action. He goes further, and finds in Gen. Thomas, a fellow-Virginian, as good

a soldier as Lee, if not a better, with the crowning quality, of course, in Northern eyes, of having resisted the allurements of "State rights," and remained true to his sworn duty to the whole country. And whereas Wolsley discerns a second Washington in Lee, Gen. Sherman recognizes him rather in Thomas, whose physical appearance and phlegmatic temper and simple patriotism earned him this comparison during his lifetime.

A colored portrait of Thomas Stevens, whose bicycle ride round the world is familiar to a large circle of readers, makes the frontispiece of *Outing* for May. The twentieth instalment of his journal narrates his journey through Persia. Mr. Stevens is, it appears from a biographical sketch, a native of England. He is now the cycling editor of *Outing*. Of this magazine, by the way, the ninth volume lies before us (Oct., 1886—Mar., 1887), and a bare glimpse of its departments reveals its scope. We find papers on amateur photography, archery, army life, ballooning, base-ball, canoeing, chess, cricket, croquet, fishing, foot-ball, rowing, sparring, the wheel, yachting, etc., etc. The professional tone is well kept under, and stories and verse help to lighten the miscellany.

In our recent mention of the April *Auk* we meant to have referred to some effective criticism of Mr. Ira Sayles's loose defence of the sense of smell in vultures, by Mr. Walter R. Barrows of the United States Department of Agriculture. Corroborative observations by Mr. Walter Hoxie of Frogmore, S. C., appear in the April number of the *Ornithologist and Oologist*.

We regret the cessation of the *Southern Biscouac* as an independent existence. It has been purchased by the Century Co., which thus acquires the right to use the *Biscouac*'s notable war papers in its own forthcoming reprint from the *Century* ('Battles and Leaders of the Civil War').

The English journal *Brain* is to be hereafter the organ of the Neurological Society of London, Macmillan & Co. becoming the publishers.

The Mercantile Library Company of Philadelphia, in its April Bulletin, continues the useful classified list of historical novels begun in the January number, and promises further continuation. It is to be hoped that when the list is finished it will be printed separately in one pamphlet. To pick the list from the different parts of the Bulletin will be too inconvenient.

L'Art and its *Courrier* are now the entrenched camp of Wagnerism in France. M. Adolphe Jullien's 'Richard Wagner, sa vie et ses œuvres,' is assiduously kept before the public in the *Courrier*, which copies all the favorable notices of the press concerning that really excellent work. Now, in *L'Art* for April 1, M. Jullien takes the floor in person to tell of the performance of the "Valkyrie" at Brussels in March. His article, which is illustrated with portraits and amiable caricatures of the composer, and with scenes from the opera in question, appeared just on the eve of the intended performance of "Lohengrin" in Paris, upon which the Schnabelé affair suddenly clapped a temporary extinguisher. A portrait of Gustave Guillaumet, who died on March 14 at the early age of forty-six, is given in this number of *L'Art*. Guillaumet was as happy with his pen as with his pencil.

We might almost say that according to French idiom "Alexandre Dumas intime" could have but one meaning. M. Glinel's paper thus entitled in *Le Livre* for April deals, as might be expected, with the dramatist's well-known weakness for the other sex. M. Glinel tells decently, with the aid of many original autograph pieces, the story of Dumas's relations with the actress Ida Ferrier, both before and after he married her. As she inspired him to create certain parts for her, and se-

cured the lasting esteem of Théophile Gautier and George Sand, she may well be thus commemorated. The historical paper on the great Leipzig publishers has many portrait illustrations, among which that of the founder Brockhaus is conspicuous as a type of German intellect and solidity.

Brockhaus, by the way, has issued a cheap edition of Schopenhauer's 'Welt als Wille und Vorstellung'—two volumes for \$3. A few decades ago, when Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling were looked on as metaphysical deities, a man would have been sneered at for placing the great pessimist on a level with them. But to-day one of the leading German journals, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, speaks of 'Die Welt als Wille, etc.' as "the epoch-making work of the greatest of German philosophers after Kant."

Of the thirteenth edition of Brockhaus' 'Conversations-Lexikon' (New York: L. W. Schmidt) the last (16th) volume is just completed. It has comparatively few articles of especial interest, the most important being those on the United States, Hungary, Vienna, and Periodical Literature—this last being full of details gathered by careful research. The article on the United States is rather meagre and the maps disappointing. The names of places, in the Eastern States especially, appear to have been chosen simply with reference to the ease of displaying them, rather than to their size or importance. From the long list of collaborators the only resident of America appears to have been Prof. W. H. Rosenstengel of Madison, Wis. Simultaneously with the last number of this volume, the publishers have issued the first number of a supplemental volume, which, besides adding new information, is intended to correct all errors discovered in the previous volumes. The longest article is upon Africa, and contains a very full list of books and maps published within the last six years, as well as an account of the recent colonial acquisitions of the different European Powers. A number of towns in the United States which have grown into importance since the printing of the first volume began in 1881, have also been included. Very characteristically there is a plate descriptive of the new rifles introduced into the German and Austrian armies.

The *Illustrirte Zeitung* for April 16 has a very convenient plan of the German Reichstag, with the seats of the members not only designated by their names, but so colored as to show the party to which they belong. This enables one to see at a glance also the relative strength of the various parties.

Among the latest series of the great house of Firmin-Didot & Co. is a 'Bibliothèque Instructive et Amusante'; and the title of what is apparently the first volume is amusing, if it is not instructive: 'Aventures Lointaines dans l'Amérique du Sud (Alaska).'

Under the rather misleading title of 'Souvenirs d'un Impresario, par Maurice Strakosch' has been published (Paris: Ollendorff; New York: F. W. Christern) a volume of very airy gossip, in reality not written by M. Strakosch himself, as the preface honestly avows, but taken down by another hand from his table talk, and arranged and set in order and dressed up and ironed out until all the color and savor have departed. As an impresario M. Maurice Strakosch has seen much, and he ought to have much to say; in this empty little book he has not said it. The management of Italian opera is not supposed to conduce to suavity of manner, but nothing can be imagined more mellifluous than the utterances of M. Strakosch as here reported; in speaking of his rivals, he distributes "taffy" with an impartial hand. In his eyes there are no bad singers or operas or managers or composers; all are great,

grand, magnificent, and world-renowned. There are a few curious details of M. Strakosch's early life and professional adventures, and of the beginnings of Mme. Adelina Patti's extraordinary career; but most of the anecdotes are twice-told tales.

The Pitt Press Series, of which we have had occasion to speak before, has been enriched by two new French text-books. 'La Bataille de dames,' by Scribe and Legouvé, is an old favorite, and needs no recommendation. 'La Canne de jone,' by Alfred de Vigny, although written in 1835, is almost new as a school-book. It is one of the short stories in the volume published nine years after the great success of 'Cinq-Mars,' entitled 'Servitude et Grandeur Militaires.' The notes by the Rev. Herbert Bull are very judicious and clear, giving all the information necessary for the pupil to understand the numerous historical allusions, and not neglecting the grammatical difficulties. These two pretty volumes are in every way worthy of the Cambridge (England) University Press, which prints all the publications in the Pitt Press Series, for which Macmillan & Co., New York, are the American agents.

—Commander F. E. Chadwick of the United States Navy contributes an admirable résumé of the history of the steamboat to the *May Scribner's*. The paper is not so technical as recent naval articles have been, and affords an instructive view of one of the most interesting topics in what one may call the mechanical history of civilization, while at the same time it is studded with practical remarks bearing on current questions. Notwithstanding the great advance and profoundly modifying changes in the construction and operation of steamships within the last score of years, this writer does not think that even a temporary goal has been reached; the introduction of twin-screws he regards as a matter of the near future, and gives as the most powerful motive for this innovation the fact that the great gain in safety would be so strong an element in competition that the whole fleet would be obliged to adopt the new plan as soon as one of the great companies does so. He points out the great destruction of steam-tonnage: Great Britain, in 1885, lost by wreck alone over 3 per cent., which was much below the usual average; in the period 1875-1883, 947 British steamers were totally destroyed by wreck. In fact, the average life of a ship is less than that of a man. Commander Chadwick protests against our own navigation laws, but at the same time ascribes our failure in steamboat construction partly to the conservatism which made us slow to exchange wood for iron as a material, and the paddle for the screw as a propeller, and also in part to the check put on water traffic by our rapidly developed railroads. Another useful article dealing with our material interests is on the perennial subject of our forests, by Prof. Shaler. He touches on nearly all aspects of the place trees have held in the life of man, from the days when they were "the cradle" of our "arboreal ancestor" down to the present, when they are the enemies of tillage. We have suffered less from deforesting because of the humid climate in the East, and the Appalachian woodlands, he thinks, will not be a tempting soil for the farmer; in the West, there is more ground for caution, but in New England, according to his observation, more land is returning to a wild state than being reclaimed. The woodcuts illustrating this article show some noble trees.

—It is seldom that one meets so excellent an illustration of the kinship among the arts as is to be found in M. Coquelin's remarks on "Acting and Actors" in *Harper's*. He says incidentally that Corot knew no French poetry except "Polyeucte," and he had never read all of that;

but this did not prevent him from being "a poet down to the tip of his brush." So with M. Coquelin's criticisms; though he was probably little thinking of it, he is a critic of art and literature as much as of acting in every sentence. Let us take an example. He is writing of the relative importance of the exterior and of the spirit, to the effect that "character is the starting-point for everything," and he goes on: "If you have assimilated the essence of your personage, his exterior will follow quite naturally, and if there is any picturesqueness it will come of itself. It is the mind that constructs the body. If Mephistopheles is ugly it is because his soul is hideous." This is the formula of all artistic creation. Again: "The public tires of nothing so quickly as mere picturesqueness of effect. Your entrance once over, they pay no further heed to you: you have missed fire if you have not style, delivery, and the development of the character to fall back on." Many a novelist is doomed to say amen to that. With respect to the *jeunes premières*, he says: "Beauty is not essential, but charm is"; it is a maxim. "The part of us which *sees* should rule as absolutely as possible the part of us which *executes*," is written for every school of expression among intellectual races; it is the moral law of art. Once more: "Naturalism on the stage is a mistake. In the first place, the public won't have it. It always resents the exhibition of revolting hideousness, of pitiless and naked realities. . . . Just as I would not allow any departure from truth on the plea of picturesque effect, so I would not permit a representation of commonplace or horrible things on the pretext of reality." But in the whole article there is food for reflection to provide the intellects of the realists as long as they choose to ruminate it. A sharp and most significant stroke is made when, apropos of Irving, it is remarked that whereas Garrick found the French unnatural, now the tables are turned. The illustrations are spirited and of the highest excellence; but the text altogether is superb intellectual criticism. In the remainder of the number there are a sketch of the Southern group of writers, with portraits, and a well-illustrated paper on mastiffs.

—The *May Century* opens with an account of that lucky find of Egyptian research, the mummy chamber of the Rameside line, of which all the world has heard; and this is continued by a full and exhaustive paper on Rameses II. and his daughter and wife Nefer-ari. The positions and speculations of the writer, with regard to both the Egyptian and Biblical history involved, are most interesting, but less so than the mere series of portraits of Rameses and his relatives, which bring Egypt near to us in a way not less impressive than wonderful. The individuality of the great king is distinctly made out, as is also the family resemblance common to the royal group of which he is the chief figure. It is a physiognomy foreign to Egypt, as has been often observed, and belongs to the higher race-type of a conquering caste. The different lines of blood which met to produce it in the face of Rameses are acutely distinguished, and the whole theory of his descent is ingeniously supported; but the portraits are independent of archaeology, and as one goes through the series, from the first representation of the boy-prince of the court, over three thousand years ago, to the last one, made when the undestroyed face of his body in old age was exposed to our camera yesterday, it is impossible not to be amazed at such a survival and identification of the actual features of a man of whom for centuries all knowledge was practically dead. One is curiously reminded of the portraits of Caesar which were lately gathered by Mr. Ropes: there is the same progress from youth to age, though the features are of course

less expressive, at least to our eyes. The most remarkable trait is the union of energy of character with placidity of spirit. The head is one of great distinction in its type, and, could we have chosen, we could have had no better memorial of one of the greatest reigns in the annals of man. The remainder of the number has considerable variety of matter, Prof. Atwater's paper on Food being of most importance. In this instalment he is dangerously technical for the common reader.

—The April number of *Les Lettres et les Arts* (Paris: Boussod, Valadon et Cie.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons) contains an article by M. Léopold Lacour, "Pierre Loti," accompanied by three sketches by Loti himself—two of scenes in Senegal, and one a group of a dozen heads of his sailors of the *Triomphante*, dated "Mers de Chine, Novembre, 1885." The article is not exhaustive, and contains nothing positively new, but it is very readable and is full of interesting things. At the beginning is a small reproduction of the often mentioned photograph of Loti in a clown's costume, as he appeared *incognito*, one night some years ago, in the ring of the circus of Toulon, and there won what he is said to consider one of the greatest successes of his life by the gymnastic feats for which he is famous. The number also contains the second and concluding part of "Mademoiselle de Bardelys," by M. Paul Perret. Unlike most stories, this one is more delightful at the end than in the beginning. It has the charm of entire unlikeness to any of the fashions of the day in manner and in conception, while not reproducing what has preceded it in either, being as far from the historical novel of Dumas or of Victor Hugo as it is from the minute analysis and deliberate dissection of Bourget or the romantic and lyrical realism of Zola. The enjoyment of the reader is heightened by the aquarelles of Marchetti, which illustrate the story in the very mood and manner of the story itself. Very different from this is "Mariages manqués," by a much more famous writer, M. François Coppée, poet and Academician. It is not in verse, but it is as mildly melancholy and sentimental as M. Coppée's stories in verse are apt to be, and yet the beauty of its direct and simple style alone makes it a pleasure to read it. "Portraits de femmes" is very ingeniously managed to introduce as illustrations some of the pictures of the coming Salon. It is a series of visits to the studios of the artists who will exhibit such portraits this year, in search of that of a certain Countess Zappi, of whom the writer (it is in the form of a letter) thinks herself justified in being jealous. At the beginning is a very attractive corner of what seems to be the studio of Carolus Duran, whose portrait of his young daughter is the most interesting of the illustrations.

—Our accomplished correspondent, Miss Randolph, as a great-granddaughter of Mr. Jefferson and also a lineal descendant of Wilson Cary Nicholas, has every right to speak by authority on the topics to which she brings new light from original and hitherto unpublished documents. The "new light" thrown on the "Resolutions of '98" relates mainly to the genesis of the Kentucky series of that year. An erroneous address—"To — Nicholas"—prefixed to the letter of Mr. Jefferson under date of December 11, 1821, as published in the Congressional edition of Jefferson's writings, has been the source of a chronic mystification. If the letter was addressed to Nelson Nicholas, as was averred by a tradition in the family of George Nicholas, then it followed, from the purport of Mr. Jefferson's statement, that George Nicholas participated with his brother, Wilson Cary Nicholas, in the alleged conference at Monticello. The fact that George

Nicholas was not a member of the Kentucky Legislature of 1798, and therefore could not have "carried them [the Resolutions] through the Legislature of his State," was explained by a supplementary tradition that he received them from Mr. Jefferson and handed them to John Breckinridge, who was a leading member of that year's Legislature. As it is now certain that the letter of December 11, 1821, was addressed to J. Cabell Breckinridge, it follows that, according to Mr. Jefferson's recollections at that date, the persons participating in the alleged conference were John Breckinridge, W. C. Nicholas, and perhaps Mr. Madison. It is in this state of the amended record that Miss Randolph comes with the surprising discovery that the whole story of the "conference" is a myth which had unconsciously formed itself in Mr. Jefferson's memory from a confused blending of proposed deliberations in 1799 with supposed deliberations in 1798. The original documents with which she supports this theory would seem to make it conclusive, in the absence of proof to the contrary. Perhaps the archives of the Breckinridge family may shed some additional light on the question.

—We take leave to subjoin that the letter of Mr. Jefferson to W. C. Nicholas, under date of November 29, 1798, as cited above by Miss Randolph, must relate exclusively to the Virginia Resolutions of 1798. In the light of this letter it is now revealed for the first time that the Virginia declaration, in the shape under which it was submitted to Mr. Jefferson for his criticism, contained a clause inviting the States to "coöperate in the annulment" of the Alien and Sedition Laws. This would have been an invitation which looked to executory proceedings of some kind; and it was, we now learn, at Mr. Jefferson's suggestion that the Virginia Resolutions of '98 were pitched at a lower key so as to make them legislative declarations of opinion, in which the coöperation of the other States was invited. Certain it is that the Virginia series, as actually submitted to the Legislature in December, 1798, three weeks after the date of Mr. Jefferson's note to W. C. Nicholas, was couched, under this head, in the following terms: "The General Assembly doth solemnly appeal to the like dispositions of the other States, in confidence that they will concur with this commonwealth in declaring, as it does hereby declare, that the acts aforesaid [the Alien and Sedition Laws] are unconstitutional, and not law, but utterly null, void, and of no force or effect." These are almost the *ipsissima verba* suggested by Mr. Jefferson in the letter to W. C. Nicholas. It is known that the words which we have italicised were expunged from the Virginia series before its passage, because of their too menacing tone. It will thus be seen that in shedding new light on the origin of the Kentucky series, Miss Randolph has also thrown a cross light on the digest of the Virginia series; and for both of these elucidations the students of history will confess their obligations.

RECENT WORKS ON BRAZIL.

Three Thousand Miles through Brazil. By J. W. Wells. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1886.

Brazil: its Condition and Prospects. By C. C. Andrews, ex-Consul-General to Brazil. D. Appleton & Co. 1887.

ABOUT fourteen years ago the Brazilian Government contracted with an English company for certain surveys for the final extension of the Dom Pedro II. Railroad, which belongs to the State. The exploring party was divided into two sections, to the second of which the survey of the vast area between the São Francisco and the Tocantins Rivers was intrusted. Mr. Wells,

still a very young man, was attached to a subdivision of the second section. From the mouth of the Rio Grande, a tributary of the São Francisco, his party ascended that river to the valley of the Somno, in the Province of Goyaz, which they then followed down to its outlet in the Tocantins. The author's work lasted about thirty months, and covered a length of 3,000 miles in the interior of Brazil, through the Provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Geraes, Goyaz, and Maranhão. His work is an "expanded" diary of that exploration, made, we repeat, fourteen years ago, with a preliminary chapter on Rio de Janeiro, and an appendix containing some statistical information on railways, sugar factories, etc. It is no exaggeration to say that the work would have been much more acceptable had it been compressed into one volume. The scenery described by Mr. Wells is really wonderful, but as one gets tired of the superabundant luxuriance of the tropics, so the reader of his book becomes wearied of so many sunrises, sunsets, and moonlight nights, and of so many villages, all of which are so monotonously alike. That Mr. Wells, however, has given us a very clever book there is no doubt. He cannot claim in any degree the scientific merit of some of his late predecessors, as Agassiz, C. F. Hartt, or even Higg-Wither or Sir Richard F. Burton; but his work is more picturesque and entertaining than theirs. Indeed, it would have been better if the author, who was young and inexperienced, as he himself says, had abstained from claiming to have discovered important facts in the physical geography of the country, or from blaming the Brazilian Government for having refused to accept one of his plans for the carrying of coffee through the city of Rio de Janeiro. As to his so-called discoveries, he evidently never heard of the work of some of the Brazilian writers and explorers, like Gen. Couto de Magalhães or Sr. Severiano da Fonseca, whose 'Viagem ao redor do Brazil' forms the basis of an interesting article by Dr. H. von Ihring in a recent number of the *Deutsche Geographische Blätter* of Bremen.

The Brazilian table-lands, Mr. Wells tells us, have a "wonderfully pure, healthy atmosphere," with a bright open country and prevailing fresh breezes. Even the swamps are not all unhealthy, like those of the Upper São Francisco, as they are often formed by running springs of water. In the table-lands of Ceará and Piahy the atmosphere is so dry that meat can be preserved by simply drying it in the sun without any salt. "And yet," continues the author, "if this is said not to be a country for a white man, then the white man had better die at once, for there exists no finer climate. One can swing an axe or a bill-hook all day long, and go to work indoors all the evening till late at night, and rise early in the morning fresh for another day: can a man do more, be he black or white?" Such is his opinion of the healthfulness of the table-lands. In the low lands, wherever malaria prevails, the foreign traveller can easily avoid it with a few well-known preventive measures, such as exclusion of night air as much as possible; not leaving home in the morning without taking coffee; not drinking doubtful water, etc. Even the health of Rio de Janeiro is not so bad as is generally believed. Mr. Wells presents statistics showing that in 1885, in a population of 450,000 inhabitants, there were 10,182 deaths, of which 374 were from yellow fever, while consumption took the lead with 1,754 fatal cases. The average proportion of deaths from yellow fever is about 5 per cent. of the total number of deaths. The victims are chiefly foreign young men, recently arrived, who are often careless in their habits.

The author's experience as to the indolence of the natives is not different from that of all other travellers in Brazil. Only absolute want compels

the *matuto* to do any work, which is stopped as soon as a little dried beef, *farinha* or manioc-flour, rum, and perhaps a new piece of cotton for his wife and daughters, are acquired. Those "primaries" of life once obtained, nothing will induce him to give up his hammock, his sleep, his *cachaça* or rum, his guitar and dance at night. No wonder, then, that agriculture is very rude. Everything grows luxuriantly and almost spontaneously; coffee and other products are simply planted, not cultivated. There are no rents, no taxes, no wages to pay. When there is any surplus, it is invested in a piece of calico, in a few iron kitchen utensils, or in the family chariot—the bullock-cart. In the villages, life is awfully monotonous: the houses are untidy, the church is a barn-like adobe building, and articles of home production are very cheap (a dozen eggs for two cents, a fat fowl for sixteen cents, and so on), while some "luxuries" are excessively dear. On the lower São Francisco even beans cost about two dollars per bushel, and dried beef seven and a half cents per pound. The people are kind, obliging, and patient under difficulties. There are no highway robbers in Brazil. The *trapeiros* and the *camaradas* or guides are good, merry people. As to the blacks, Mr. Wells says that "in spite of all that has been said of the indolence of the negro, I find that in the interior of Brazil the free black is the workingman," the pure negroes being by far the most intelligent and industrious of the inhabitants.

Brazilian fauna and flora have been so often described that one cannot attempt, in a short space, to accompany our author in his appreciative remarks on the wonderful things of that country. The best game birds of Brazil are the jacús, mutuns, wild pigeons, and caicára, to which the jacotinga might be added. "Snakes are not by any means so abundant in Brazil as it is usually credited with." Every two or three days the traveller meets with some large harmless one, occasionally with a rattlesnake or a jararaca. The most exciting adventure of Mr. Wells was a battle with peccaries at night (ii, 137 *et seq.*). Indeed, the reader acquainted with the interior of Brazil can afford to smile at the terrors of the battle, ascribing them to the artistic imagination of the author, who has written on them a most interesting chapter. The peccary of Brazil is the *Dicotyles labiatus*.

The appendix contains many errors which we regret to find in a work by an engineer. We do not know where Mr. Wells found, for instance, that the Cantagallo Railway is earning five per cent. on its capital, for in the year referred to by him it only earned \$296,109, or less than three per cent. Then, again, in the case of the Leopoldina Railway, he states that its share capital is \$30,000,000 and that the company pays seven per cent., which are two gross blunders. The statistics of the receipts and expenses of the Brazilian railways (ii, p. 343) would be more valuable if he had summarized the partial results, which would show that the Anglo-Brazilian railways, in spite of double administration, spend but fifty-seven and a half per cent. of their gross receipts.

But the greatest curiosity in Mr. Wells's work is that he seldom spells properly a Portuguese word. In his 800 pages there are perhaps 1,600 Portuguese words or sentences, and it is no exaggeration to say that scarcely 1,500 are correctly given. It seems incredible that the author has really spent fifteen years in Brazil, or that he is, as he asserts, "intimately acquainted with its people." He makes the singular agree with the plural, the masculine with the feminine; he takes away accents from where they should be and adds them where they are not wanted, and for one who is acquainted with the Portuguese his book will for ever be memorable as a guide to

"Portuguese as She is Spelt." The common *feijões*, the main food of the natives, becomes *feijdos*. "Good morning" is *bão dias* (two errors). The word *burro* is spelled throughout as *buro*, and Mr. Wells forms sentences such as *buros bem manso* (two errors). *Anta* is *formigos*. Even poor English beer is christened *cerveja inglez*. Instead of *Sivam-se, senhores*, he says *Serveem, senhores*. Names of such places as *Paraopeba*, which is the title of one of his chapters, are wrongly written "Parãopeba." The word *Ipiabânia*, which has no accent, is treated to the luxury of three, thus, "Ipiábânia," which renders it wholly absurd. The drink of the native Brazilian, the sugar-cane rum, becomes sadly adulterated in the author's hand; it is now *agudente* without the *r*, then it is *caçacha*, then again *cachaca*; but, what is worse, he says that this word is pronounced *kar-shar-sar*! That little insect *carrapato*, about which he tells us such amusing stories, is spelled *carraptão*, *carapatos*, and *carapatds*. *Atôa* becomes *atod*; fish is *peizo*; *pinguella* is *pengella*; the billhook is *falcão* (falcon) instead of *facão*. *Boa viagem* (*bon voyage*) becomes *bom viagem*, and the very word man is written *homen*, and countryman is spelled throughout the two volumes as *matutor* instead of *matuto*. The above are only a few of the far too many mistakes of Mr. Wells's book: it is shameful that two such bulky volumes should be allowed to appear with so great a number.

Mr. C. C. Andrews's work is totally different from that of Mr. Wells. It is not amusing, nor interesting, nor original; but the author has managed to compress into its 350 pages much useful information about Brazil. Indeed, it looks very much like the blending of a very full consular report with a substantial, but gossip, letter about the general resources, condition, manners, etc., of the empire. To any one intending to visit the sea-coast of that country, Mr. Andrews's work will prove most serviceable, though it contains several errors. He has interesting information about the Presbyterian mission in São Paulo. His remarks about a reciprocity treaty between the United States and Brazil (p. 121) do not represent the true bearings of the difficulty. It is wrong to state that the free admission of coffee into the United States "is substantially a donation" to the Brazilian treasury; for the fact is, the export duty in Brazil is now the same that has been in force for many years when we charged a duty of two or three cents per pound. Then, again, Mr. Andrews is entirely mistaken in supposing that Brazil would negotiate a treaty with us were it not for the straitened condition of her treasury; the fact being that such treaties cannot be negotiated at all on account of the "most favored nation" clause in the treaties of Brazil with most of the European countries. Brazil does not impose an export duty on coffee and sugar with any idea of treating us badly. The empire has no land taxes, and has hardly any of our internal-revenue taxes; the export duty, rightly or wrongly (and we think wrongly), is found there to be the best substitute for those taxes. Another curious mistake of Mr. Andrews is to describe Innocencio da Silva as a Brazilian historian, he being neither, but a Portuguese bibliographer of great merit. In fact, his appreciation of Brazilian literature is very defective.

CRAZY HERALDRY.

America Heraldica. A Compilation of Coats-of-Arms, Crests, and Mottos of prominent American Families, settled in this country before 1800. Edited by E. de V. Vermont. Illustrated by Henry Rykers. New York. Pp. 192. Quarto. 17 pages of illustrations.

WHEN the early parts of this publication were issued, we felt bound to express our dissatisfaction with it. A careful examination of the completed work confirms and intensifies our condemnation of it. We fully believe that the author has had no unworthy object in view; we accept his statements that no coat-of-arms has been inserted from pecuniary inducements; we admire the zeal and labor shown in editing the work; and we cheerfully acknowledge that the typographical part is highly creditable. But here our praise must stop short, for a more deplorable waste of time and money in a literary enterprise can hardly be imagined. Had the book been privately issued, and circulated only among the editor's friends, it might have received the pitying silence accorded to many records of family pride and ignorance. But the enterprise is a public one; it has been largely advertised and probably widely circulated, and it will go abroad, to nations to whom heraldry has to-day a meaning and a value, as the sole exponent of American ideas on the subject.

In this country, where coats-of-arms are only antiquarian trifles, it is not of the slightest consequence whether our newly enriched citizens paint the wrong arms on their carriages or not. To genealogists, even, such devices have long been of value only so far as they aid in tracing out a pedigree. Whether the United States were settled by noble or ignoble immigrants is not a matter that disturbs the cabinets of Europe to-day, nor does a solution of the point affect our standing as a nation. But we expose ourselves to ridicule and contempt if we make claims without foundation either to superior manliness, intelligence, honesty, or even "blood." This, it seems to us, is the unfortunate position in which the zeal without knowledge of Mr. Vermont has placed us. The finer his book, the more certain it is to attract the attention of competent judges; and the more scornful and unreserved will be their censure. In anticipation, however, of a foreign verdict, we will endeavor to scrutinize the work carefully, and to plead guilty in advance to its faults.

As an authoritative presentation of coats-of-arms belonging to families settled in the United States, it is sadly lacking in completeness and in arrangement. Seventeen pages, each bearing sixteen colored shields, give us two hundred and seventy-two coats, to which are to be added descriptions of over one hundred more. The circular, indeed, names 420 families as embraced in the list; but, judging from the examples admitted within the sacred enclosure, the editor could easily have described eight hundred coats equally entitled to consideration. So, also, the plan of arrangement is very faulty. The coats are simply tumbled in together, without regard to authority, date, locality, or importance. The very smallest amount of judgment should have taught the editor to adopt some plan. He should have taken each of the original colonies by itself, and placed under that head the cases he could cite. He should have made a distinction between the families still represented and those which speedily expired. Above all, he should carefully have shown what families had a well-established foreign pedigree as well as those which had merely used coat-armor from the earliest dates here, and were therefore only presumptively entitled to it. We regret to add, that he should not have inserted a single coat-of-arms for which no respectable authority could be given.

On every one of these points the editor has sadly failed. By neglecting the localities, he has greatly increased the number of doubtful cases, because the alleged proofs are out of the reach of ordinary readers. By admitting a few examples of those officials who came here, but left no issue, he increases the number but diminishes the va-

lue of his collections. By putting an undue value on the early use of seals, etc., he does injustice to the few families with a pedigree. Above all, by putting into this pretentious volume a large number of coats utterly unfounded and incorrect, he destroys the value of the collection as an authority. We propose to go over the record and to justify our comments, especially as to unfounded coats here inserted.

On plate 1 the Franklin arms are given. There has been no authority ever given for them, and they were doubtless assumed by Benjamin. On plate 2 we find the Hutchinson arms, taken up unwarrantably by the Boston family, and never used by the obscure branch which was entitled to them. The Tyng arms have no authority. The Hancock arms were never heard of till John Hancock took them up. The Eliot arms were never used here, and it is utterly impossible to go further back than the father of the Rev. John Eliot. For the Hoar arms no authority is cited. The Emerson and the Lord arms rest on the authority of tombstones and seals. The Tyler arms were granted in 1774 to two brothers, and not to their numerous cousins.

On plate 3 the De Peyster coat lacks authority, as does the Beekman. The Clinton arms belong to only one of the three New York Governors who used them. For the Stuyvesant and Ludlow coats the authorities cited are vague. The Warren coat was a most unwarranted assumption made in Boston some thirty years ago, one of the regretted episodes of our genealogy. For the Bleekers, Luquers, and Sinclairs a similar haziness of proof is to be noted. In regard especially to the New York families we desire ample evidences, because Continental heraldry is governed by rules very different from English laws.

On plate 4 the Arnold pedigree is very suspicious; the Coffin arms are a modern assumption without a shadow of right, the Brewster equally false, unfounded, and unused, the Drake arms a mere guess on the part of a local antiquary. For the Dodge arms Mr. Vermont adduces: "Several patents, granting arms or confirming preceding grants, are preserved in the family to this day." He quotes as authority the family meeting in 1879. No such statement occurs in that book, and the arms are entitled to no consideration. The Lawrence arms are another of the ridiculous myths of early genealogy here—often exposed, and now repeated by the careless editor. The Gilman arms are without foundation, and here is a serious misquotation from the 'American Genealogist,' 1875. Mr. Whitmore did not write as follows: "We find the American family [of Gilman] entitled to the arms they bear, as they have not been challenged by the English branch still existing." There is no good proof of the arms as yet.

On plate 5 the authority for the Anderson arms is simply that the engraver, an emigrant who died a few years since, used them. This is truly a typical American coat! The Bartow and the Brown (of Rye) arms lack support; for the Cuylers and Disbrows no pretence of authority is given, nor for the Munsells or Van Wycks. The Pierrepont claim stirred the country to irrepressible merriment a few years ago. Mr. Vermont again misquotes the 'American Genealogist,' 1875, but cannot show the slightest authority for the coat. No proof is given of the Hay claim.

On plate 6 the Andrews, Bell, Chaloner, and Townsend coats are given. In none of these coats is there any evidence or even probability that these arms were claimed by any American family.

On plate 7 the Delano arms, "brought over by the emigrant," will be interesting when found. The Sands and Throops are supposed to bear the arms of Sandys and Scrope—two improbable fic-

tions utterly unsuited to a standard work like this. The Whitney pedigree is magnificently printed, but the author was the victim of a contemptible fraud, and the coat-of-arms unfortunately went with the pedigree. The Read arms need verification, and the Nicoll arms are confessedly something else.

On plate 8 the Curtis arms are simply unknown, and are not even claimed by the authorities cited by Mr. Vermont. So, again, for the Deane arms no authority is given, and anything thinner than the Hayden assumption could not easily be imagined. The Giles arms are unfounded. As to the Loring arms, there is no tombstone in Boston with the coat. A woodcut was foisted into the text in Bridgman's 'Epitaphs,' being the whim or fancy of a local antiquary of the name. The claim is utterly unfounded. The Lyman pedigree has never been traced to any one bearing arms, nor an example of the use here given.

On plate 9, passing over some doubtful cases, we should query the Howard claim.

On plate 10 the Stetson, Fairweather, and Sumner coats have no foundation; the Storrs coat, according to Mr. Vermont, is not known to English heraldry; the Montague coat rests on a manuscript genealogy, which is of course beyond our vision.

On plate 11 the Cromwell coat is confessedly without any authority whatever, and the Fountains need to show their source. The Phelps arms are again confessedly weak, and no authority at all is given for the Van Sittarts. The Van Alst and Polhemus coats get very little explanation from our author, and the Woolseys can only say that they claim to be descended from a near relative of the Cardinal. If report be right, they might as well have claimed him.

On plate 12 the Wetmore arms are a myth, probably assumed by the Rev. James Wetmore when he was in England, about 1735. The Hatch coat cannot be laid to any colonist, and the Roome coat gives ample space to the imagination. For any use of the Goodsell arms we await testimony, and we place the Penningtons and Butlers in the same category.

From page 90 onwards we find the author inserts in the text various coats engraved but not shown on the colored plates, Nos. 13-17. We will follow the text as it stands. The Dickinson coat has no authority; the Linzees may be Lindsays; the Bradfords are in doubt, the Millers at best traditional; and the Sears coat is another unfortunate blunder. The Sewall arms probably were assumed here a century ago, and cannot be substantiated. The Cranston pedigree, cited from the *Heraldic Journal*, must be wrong somewhere. The Burnham coat is without basis, never used here, and not even claimed. The Herricks are in the same case. Gov. Endicott did not use arms, and nothing is known of his ancestry. The use of any Prescott arms is yet to be found, and the Rogers pedigree even at the present date is not carried to an armiger. Why the Darling coat should be allowed is a mystery, and the Baldwins certainly never claimed arms. The Bartlett genealogy is entirely fragmentary and unreliable, and the arms are a very recent assumption. As to the Lisles, their connection with New England is simply through the Ushers, and their coat is not American in any way. The McVicers, Rassy, Hicks, Bette, Geer, Chandler, French, Jouet, Howland, Cleveland, Holcomb, Rawle, Tuckerman, Seabury, Seymour, and Otis coats are thrust into the collection without even a pretence of authority.

Now we submit that this is a pretty bad showing for a book that is to be the representative of American scholars. We have merely picked out the utterly worthless and absurd cases, leaving still a large number as to which the evidences

are not easily accessible, and which therefore must depend upon the opinion we may have of Mr. Vermont's judgment. From the above cited cases, we are constrained to value his opinion very lightly. It is inconceivable that an editor who accepts such examples can properly estimate the weight of evidence. One of his standard authorities is Mrs. Lamb's 'History of New York.' Great as are the merits of that work, very few of her examples of coats-of-arms are fortified by proofs.

We had intended to print Mr. Vermont's whole list of families entitled to arms, and to point out those beyond dispute. But, when we came to sift the evidence, we found so many doubtful cases that it seemed unfair to name the very few we could approve. As we have already intimated, a book like this is an unmitigated nuisance. In a number of cases, especially at the date when genealogy began to be studied here, the compilers of family history exercised little discretion in attempting to prove their English ancestry. They had recourse only to the Peerages, Burke's 'Landed Gentry,' or to county histories; and a similarity of names was held to be proof of identity. They were utterly ignorant of the fact that every one of those names was duplicated infinitely by Englishmen of ignoble birth. Hence a plentiful crop of errors now mentioned with regret, and carefully ignored by the wiser generation of authors. But Mr. Vermont has pushed these errors into the light again, and it is an unpleasant, though necessary, task to put a peremptory denial upon them. Hence the critic is disposed to see no value or use whatever in the enterprise, especially as the editor has not apparently contributed a single item to our stock of knowledge. He has simply chopped up various books, picked up facts and errors, and placed the result before the public in a manner provocative of examination and censure. He has not merely put our few diamonds in a rich setting, but he has exhibited scores of paste jewels in expensive frames; and we shall be told that our collection is very tawdry and senseless.

It is to be hoped that the ridicule which awaits this venture will prompt some one to do the task rightly. We hope some one will epitomize the knowledge accessible, will bring together the true pedigrees, the authentic cases of use of arms, and will make a careful search for the unpublished instances to be found in our early wills, deeds, and archives. Then, indeed, we shall have an 'America Heraldica' which may be scanty, but will be cited with respect both here and abroad. It is undoubtedly true that in every colony there were resident gentry, but even in England it was always found necessary to hold official visitations, and we must imitate that example. For New England a fair beginning has been made, but the archives of other portions of the country have been sadly neglected. If Mr. Vermont would establish a claim to our respect we advise him to take his artist to the State-houses and county court-houses of New York, New Jersey, and the Southern seaboard States. Let him copy the armorial seals he finds, giving the dates and contents of the documents. Then let him search the older graveyards for armorial inscriptions. After that, he may copy such manuscript pedigrees as will bear examination, and he will produce a volume for which our praise will doubtless be as unstinted as our present condemnation.

CARLYLE'S INDEBTEDNESS TO GOETHE.

Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle.
Edited by Charles Elliot Norton. Macmillan & Co. 1887.

THE feeling that comes over one most often and

most forcibly, in reading these letters, is one of surprise that Carlyle should have been in his early manhood so powerfully attracted by Goethe, and should then have taken up into his own being, to all appearance, so little of the characteristic Goethean temper. But this brings us at once to one of the most puzzling facts in the life of Carlyle, puzzling at least for all those of his readers who are conscious, as he was, of a great intellectual debt to Goethe. How is it that Carlyle, having drawn from the life and writings of Goethe so much which he himself felt and proclaimed to be infinitely valuable, should have failed to get the remainder, which might have prevented him from drifting, throughout the rest of his life, further and further from Goethe's ways of thinking? This is a question we have often pondered, and in so doing we have many times wished for more definite knowledge concerning the precise nature of Carlyle's intellectual relations to Goethe. The allusions to this subject in Carlyle's published works are, to be sure, numerous, but they are vague and general. They are in the *Sartor* tone, and the *Sartor* tone, whatever may be its value for other purposes, is rather disappointing to one who is athirst for precise information. What Mr. Froude offers on this subject does not satisfy, and satisfies the less since confidence in him as a biographer of Carlyle has been so seriously shaken. When, therefore, it was rumored some months ago that Mr. Norton would edit the correspondence of Goethe and Carlyle, we at once began indulging in the hope that the letters would tell us what we wished to know. This hope has not been altogether disappointed, although not perfectly satisfied, by the volume before us.

The correspondence opens with a letter of Carlyle, written June 24, 1834, and closes with one of Goethe, dated August 19, 1831. The collection contains in all seventeen letters from Goethe to Carlyle, and sixteen from Carlyle to Goethe; besides these there are included in the volume three letters from Eckermann to Carlyle, one from Carlyle to Eckermann, one from Hitzig to Carlyle, one from Mrs. Carlyle to Goethe, and, finally, a curious testimonial written by Goethe at the request of Carlyle, who was just then an aspirant for the chair of moral philosophy at St. Andrews. The letters of Goethe were naturally counted by Carlyle among his *pretiosa*; in 1834 he tied them up in a package, placed them in a box with papers relating to Cromwell, and afterwards forgot where they were. After his death they were recovered and placed by Mrs. Alexander Carlyle in the hands of Mr. Norton. The letters of Carlyle, save the last one he wrote, which has not yet come to light, have lain since 1832 in the Goethe Archives at Weimar. They were kindly placed at the disposal of Mr. Norton by H. R. H. the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar. The German letters are given first in the original, then in translation, and the entire collection is edited and printed, it hardly need be said, in admirable taste. An excellent Introduction by the editor, occasional notes, and two appendices, furnish all the help needed to make the correspondence everywhere intelligible.

Carlyle's first letter accompanied his translation of 'Wilhelm Meister.' It returns thanks for the profit which the translator, "in common with many millions, had derived from the Original"; then, dropping all formality of style, it continues:

"Four years ago, when I read your 'Faust' among the mountains of my native Scotland, I could not but fancy I might one day see you, and pour out before you, as before a Father, the woes and wanderings of a heart whose mysteries you seemed so thoroughly to comprehend, and could so beautifully represent. The hope of seeing you is still among my dreams."

Such language as this could not be otherwise than welcome to Goethe. The homage of young

men was especially grateful to him in his old age, and here was a conquest in a new and unknown quarter. Besides this, his mind was just then filled with the idea of a world-literature which was to draw the nations together in closer intellectual sympathy. In Carlyle he discerned an able co-worker for this project. He replied courteously to the letter, enclosing some recent poems and expressing a wish to hear more of his correspondent. And thus was begun a correspondence which, as Carlyle himself said some forty years afterwards, "was not in itself momentous at all, but to us then an aetherial and quasi-celestial thing." Nearly three years passed before any further letters were interchanged; from the spring of 1827 they become frequent. Goethe sends not only letters, but also packages with presents of various kinds, "for the valued marriage-pair Carlyle," as the recipient gleefully translated Goethe's phraseology. The arrival of a letter or a packet from Weimar makes from time to time a day of jubilee in the lone house at Craigenputtock. Presently the little drawing-room has become "full" of Goethe. Mrs. Carlyle shares the infection. She receives a necklace from the poet, and makes a Scotch bonnet for Ottilie von Goethe. In her devotion, she sends a lock of her hair to the octogenarian at Weimar, and commits the cruel *faux pas* of asking for one of his in return. The staple of the correspondence is, however, naturally enough, literature. Goethe sends books which will be "helpful," and makes observations upon them. Carlyle keeps his friend informed of the progress of German literature in England; of the English versions of Goethe's works, their merits and their reception; of the authorship of magazine articles on German subjects.

The letters are certainly interesting and valuable, although they hardly deserve the name of good letters. Goethe had long since passed the period of his best letter-writing, and the letters of the younger man lack the *verve* of those which he wrote to men whom he felt to be his equals—Emerson, for example. It is doubtless due in part to Carlyle's constant attitude of all but idolatrous veneration that the correspondence really throws but little light on the query suggested at the beginning of our review. It may, however, be worth while to bring together a few of the more striking passages in which Carlyle tries to characterize the nature of his own indebtedness to Goethe. In a letter of April 15, 1827, he writes:

"If I have been delivered from darkness into any measure of light, if I know aught of myself and my duties and destination, it is to the study of your writings more than to any other circumstance that I owe this; it is you more than any other man that I should always thank and reverence with the feeling of a Disciple to his Master—nay, of a Son to his spiritual Father."

Again, August 20, of the same year:

"As it is, your Works have been a mirror to me; unasked and unhelped for, your wisdom has counselled me, and so peace and health of Soul have visited me from afar. For I was once an Unbeliever, not in Religion only, but in all the Mercy and Beauty of which it is the Symbol; storm-tossed in my own imaginations; a man divided from men; exasperated, wretched, driven almost to despair—so that Faust's curse seemed the only fit greeting for human life, and his passionate *Fluch vor allen der Geduld!* was spoken from my very inmost heart. But now, thank Heaven, all this is altered: without change of external circumstances, solely by the new light which rose upon me, I attained to new thoughts and a composure which I should once have considered as impossible."

Alluding to some expressions of Goethe concerning the approaching end of his own life, Carlyle writes, October 23, 1830:

"Neither in any case do we sorrow as those that have no Hope. He who has seen into the high meaning of *ENTSAGEN* cherishes even here a still

Faith in quite another Future than the vulgar devotee believes or the vulgar sceptic denies. 'God is great,' say the Orientals; to which we add only, 'God is good,' as the beginning and end of all our Philosophy."

Again, in a letter of June 10, 1831:

"For it can never be forgotten that to you [him] I owe the all-precious knowledge that Reverence is still possible—nay, Reverence for our fellow-man as a true emblem of the Highest—even in these perturbed, chaotic times. That you have carried and yet will carry such life-giving Light into many a soul wandering bewildered in the eclipse of Doubt; till at length whole generations have cause to bless you, that instead of Conjecturing and Denying they can again Believe and Know: herein truly is a Sovereignty of quite indisputable Legitimacy, and which it is our only Freedom to obey."

To these quotations may be added one from the 'Reminiscences,' vol. i, p. 179:

"This year (1826) I found that I had conquered all my scepticisms, agonizing doubtings, fearful wrestlings with the foul and vile and soul-murdering Mud-gods of my Epoch; had escaped as from a worse than Tartarus, with all its Phlegmons and Stygian quagmires; and was emerging free in spirit into the eternal blue of ether—where, blessed be Heaven, I have, for the spiritual part, ever since lived. . . . I then felt and still feel endlessly indebted to Goethe in the business; he, in his fashion, I perceived, had travelled the steep, rocky road before me—the first of the moderns."

Such are the descriptions with which we are obliged to content ourselves. Goethe took hold of Carlyle only from his ethical side. He did for the young Scotchman what the Jew Spinoza had done for himself, namely, calmed and clarified his mind at a time when he had utterly lost faith in the value of life; taught him that the sun does not fall from the sky when mortals put away the creed of their fathers, and that a man of honest purpose and wide outlook may ground himself on rational foundations of his own; taught him also to "renounce"—that is, not to make excessive demands upon life in the expectation of happiness; and taught him, finally, that work is one of the best of tonics against the depressing influences of over-solicitude with regard to the world in general. All this was indubitably Goethe, but it was not the whole of Goethe. There remained Art and Science; but for these, with all that they signified to his illustrious friend, Carlyle cared but little. And so, with all his genius, we miss in him several essential traits of that superb portrait which Goethe has drawn in the famous lines:

"Weite Welt und breites Leben,
Lang'sr Jahre redlich Ströben,
Stets geforscht und stets gegründet,
Nie geschlossen, oft geründet,
Aeltestes bewahrt mit Treue,
Freundlich aufgefassetes Neue,
Heitern Sinn und reine Zwecke;
Nun—man kommt wol eine Strecke."

NON-ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA.

French Explorations and Settlements in North America, and those of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Swedes, 1500-1700. [Narrative and Critical History of America. Edited by Justin Winsor. Vol. IV.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. [1886.]

A most notable paper in the new volume of the 'Narrative and Critical History of America' is the opening article, by Prof. Shaler, on the physiography of North America. There are many who will wish that work like this had come to their knowledge in the formative period of life, and will count him fortunate among historical students who shall take his bias from this chapter. It deserves to be printed in the forefront of all histories of the United States which shall be written for a generation. A condensed, clear, and suggestive description of the physical features of the continent prefaces a careful summary of the influence which those features have

exercised upon men of European origin and on the course of colonization. As regards the direct comparison of Americans of to-day with their European contemporaries, Prof. Shaler holds that "the American people are no smaller in size than are the peoples of Europe from which they are derived; they are at least as long-lived; their capacity to withstand fatigue, wounds, etc., is at least as great as that of any European people; the average of physical beauty is probably quite as good as it is among an equal population in the Old World; the fecundity of the people is not diminished." Contrasting the success of the English colonies with the failure of the French, despite the statesmanlike comprehension of the possibilities of the country shown by the latter, it is pointed out that the French were heavily handicapped by the physical and climatic conditions of their possessions, which denied them the aid of maize, and that this disadvantage was increased by a restrictive system of land tenure, and by a habit of regarding the colonies as trading posts, while the English looked upon their settlements as permanent homes.

The history of the earliest French explorations of the Canadian coast was written by the late George Dexter, and it should count for much that this painstaking and fair-minded scholar has restored the voyage of Verrazano to the place from which the casuistical objections of Mr. Murphy should never have driven it. The voyages of the unfortunate Cortereals are included in this chapter. The explorations of Cartier, and the abortive settlement of Roberval are described by Dr. De Costa, who takes occasion to dissipate the impression that Canada was neglected by the French between 1547 and the close of the century; it is true that no attempt at colonization was made, but private trading voyages were frequent.

The ever-interesting exploits of Champlain are retold by the Rev. Edmund Slafter, to whom we owe the best account of the life of this remarkable man. Mr. Slafter's theory, that Champlain, in taking the warpath with the Huron against the Iroquois, was actuated by a broad national policy, sacrifices the explorer's judgment to his prudence. The early and disheartening attempts to establish trading posts in Nova Scotia made by De Monts, Pontreincourt, and their successors down to the fruitless seizure of the country by Phips in 1670, are described by Mr. C. C. Smith, of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in a chapter entitled "Acadia," which, of course, does not cover the events most widely associated with that name.

The Rev. E. D. Neill, who owns a divided allegiance to Maryland and Minnesota, has related the history of Quebec from its capture by "Kyrcke," a form of the name not instantly suggesting "Kirk," to the time of Frontenac, and depicted with careful detail the course of exploration about the great lakes until 1689, when the French took formal possession of that region. Mr. Neill is of a sympathetic turn, and the hardships of the explorers are realistically represented in his style. A more uncomfortable piece of narrative, or one more suggestive of trackless forests and rugged portages, we have not lately met. As a severe exercise of mind and muscle, we can heartily recommend the perusal of this chapter, with the aid of its necessary concomitant, a big atlas.

The account of the exploration of the lakes is supplemented by a chapter from the editor upon the further work of Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle, with a sketch of the occupation of Louisiana, and reproductions of many of the manuscript maps which bear the names of the explorers. In spite of the labors of M. Margry, the soundness of Joliet's claim to the discovery of the upper Mississippi is assumed both by Mr.

Neill and by Mr. Winsor, the latter giving a long note to Hennepin and his works. The internal history of Quebec and Canada at this epoch of westward exploration is related by Mr. George Stewart, jr., in his chapter upon Count Frontenac, that worthy successor of Champlain, who shares with Roger Williams and with Sir William Johnson the credit of being one of the few men of alien race who have understood how to deal with the Indian. The stern character of the northern aborigines and the numerical weakness of the colonies forbade a repetition in the north of the unspeakable iniquities against which Las Casas labored in vain in the south; but, apart from this, there is a difference in the treatment accorded the natives by the Spaniards and the French which it were unjust to ascribe solely to the lapse of time. It is perhaps not saying overmuch, but it must in fairness be said, that the French were preëminent among the peoples who helped themselves to lands in America for the inherent good-nature and the Christian spirit which marked their dealings with the tribes they came to dwell among, regarding them apparently neither as beasts of burden nor as agents of the devil in his war against God's people, but as weaker brethren. The labors of Eliot and his associates in Massachusetts, though worthy of more attention than was yielded them in the preceding volume of this History, were but small in extent and in effect compared with the efforts of the Roman Church in the French possessions. Jesuits, Sulpitians, and Recollects toiled and suffered for the conversion and education of the red men over a territory that stretched from Nova Scotia to Lake Superior, and from the Mohawk well nigh to Hudson's Bay. The story of their achievements and their failures is clearly sketched by Dr. J. B. Shea, whose work on the subject has been an authority for thirty years, and it is full of interest and food for thought. A bibliography of the Jesuit Relations from which most of the facts of the history are drawn, forms an appendage to this chapter.

It is characteristic of the Dutch that, having taken no part in the exploration or settlement of the New World for a century and a quarter after the discovery, they finally entered the game by appropriating the finest commercial and agricultural site along the entire coast, having in 1624 bought the whole of Manhattan Island for the eminently reasonable sum of twenty-four dollars. The history of this settlement and its weal and woe until it was handed over to England in 1674 is told by Berthold Fernow, keeper of the Records of New York, with disappointing brevity. The future importance of the place and the inherent interest of the story demanded fuller treatment, and to give it but a third of the space devoted to New Sweden seems a curious error.

Writing in 1643, the President of the Royal Council of Sweden expressed the hope that the whole Continent of America might in time become subject to the Crown of Sweden. The colony of New Sweden, the inspiration of this pious wish, was founded through Dutch effort and by Dutch settlers in 1638, and extinguished, when it had begun to attract Swedes, in 1655, also by Dutch effort. Down to 1654, when it received an influx of 350 persons, it seems never to have numbered above 200 inhabitants all told. That its historian, Prof. Keen, has succeeded in interesting us through forty-four pages, is a tribute no less to his skill than to the copiousness of the sources.

Mr. Winsor's cartographical contributions to the present volume, which, of course, comprise most of the new matter that it offers, are as follows: Maps of the eastern coast of North America, 1500-1535; Cartography of the northeast coast of North America, 1535-1600; Maps illustrating the exploration of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley; General atlases and charts of the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Mercator, Hondius, Blaeu, etc.); Maps of the seventeenth century showing Canada. The maps bearing upon the Dutch occupancy of New York are described in the critical essay of Mr. Fernow. The book contains two modern maps, and about one hundred and forty reproductions of old maps.

We presume Mr. Winsor could give a reason for not putting the date of publication of these volumes upon the title-page, but we cannot but look upon the omission as unfortunate. The volume before us was copyrighted in 1884, and a part of it certainly was written in or before 1882; we believe we are right in stating that it was published in 1886.

Celebrities of the Century: Being a Dictionary of Men and Women of the 19th Century. Edited by Lloyd C. Sanders. Cassell & Co. 1887.

THE calendar division between our own century and its immediate predecessor has determined admissions to this work, except in the case of lives which barely overlapped the boundary, and whose effectiveness belonged to the earlier period. The living as well as the dead are included. In fulness it falls below the handiest standard of comparison, Thomas's 'Biographical Dictionary,' as it does below 'Men of the Time,' in its line, yet supplements both, whether by new names or by proportion of treatment. The spirit in which it has been composed and edited is liberal, with rare exhibition of insularity or of factiousness, while its tone toward this country is absolutely friendly and very fair, as one may see by reading the Federal and Confederate military biographies. Under Gladstone it is remembered that having at an inopportune moment said that Jefferson Davis had created a nation, he thereby gave pain to many of his followers, though he afterwards apologized for his error. Under Lee the conclusion is ventured, "That his cause was not ultimately successful was simply because, in the nature of the case, the means at his command were inadequate"—which will cause no heart-burnings. Some other readings in American history are more questionable, e. g., under Clay: "His last session in the Senate (1848 to 1851) was almost entirely devoted to the abolition of slavery"; under Theodore Parker: "From 1856 to 1859, as an intimate friend of Garrison and John Brown, he did all that was possible by preaching and the supply of arms to assist the Abolitionist cause during the Kansas War and the raid on Harper's Ferry"; under Wendell Phillips, that, after assuming the presidency of the American Anti-Slavery Society, he "succeeded in winning for the negro full citizenship."

The accuracy of this Dictionary is to be praised, so far as we have tested it; such slips as giving a final *e* to Mr. Howells's middle name, or making President Cleveland a native of New York, being too trivial to censure. The list of sources at the end of each article is usually fresh and discriminating, but Davis's 'Rise and Fall of the Confederacy' is overlooked, as is John Quincy Adams's Diary; and, as is evident from the notices of Cooper and Calhoun, the American Statesmen and American Men of Letters series were unknown to the editor and his corps. Some omissions strike one, as, Lyman Beecher, Benton, Frémont; Von Holst; Leconte de Lisle, etc. There has been a displacement in arranging the Lawrences, Sir John coming before Sir Henry. On the whole, we have every reason to welcome so convenient a reference-book as this. No one can turn its pages and observe the splendid names which it celebrates without being impressed with the exalted rank of the present century in any comparison with those that have gone before—material, moral, intellectual. Music, poetry, philanthropy, statesmanship, the art of war, the

triumphs of man over nature, the progress of discovery and invention, have all been illustrated by names "on Fame's eternal bead-roll worthy to be filed."

Rambles in Old Boston, New England. By the Rev. Edward G. Porter. Illustrated by George R. Tolman. Boston: Cupples, Upham & Co. 1887. 4to, pp. 439.

ALL Bostonians are aware of the fact that Old Boston lies at the North End. At the first settlement of the town, the line of occupation was from the water-front up State Street, northerly along Court Street, under the shadow of Beacon Hill, and then easterly across a creek to that Copp's Hill which terminated the peninsula. A century later, Washington Street was extended southerly, but Boylston Street was decidedly South End. Castle Street, or the present line of the Boston and Albany Railroad, was the absolute terminus of the town. But the most interesting local associations hang around the old town. There dwelt all the colonial Governors and also all their chief opponents. Here lived the rulers of the town meetings and the originators of the town caucuses. Here the spirit of independence was kept alive from the time of Andros to that of Hutchinson; and here the desire for freedom of personal action was artfully and speedily developed into armed resistance to the mother country.

All good Bostonians knew these facts in our grandfathers' days, because they lived on these sites. But in our fathers' time the Mill-pond was filled in, then the South Cove disappeared, and a notable emigration took the old settlers to more southerly localities. The great Irish influx filled up these streets, abandoned by the native-born, and so conveniently situated to house the laborers employed on the adjacent wharves. The stately houses of colonial times became accustomed to Celtic accents, and the Puritan churches allowed themselves to show the golden cross.

Another turn of the wheel, and the Irish colonist, or rather his progeny, born, educated, and developed, has already commenced a new exodus, which finds an ending in the fields of Roxbury and Dorchester. To the first strangers

has succeeded a horde of new-comers from southern Europe. Italians and Portuguese have driven out the Irish, underbidding them for work, and crowding them out by mere strength of numbers and clannish feeling. A young man, born here of Irish parents, recently remarked that as a boy he was the only Irish scholar in his school; and to-day, at the age of thirty, he is the only Irish resident on the street, having continued, accidentally, to reside in the house where he was born.

These two tidal waves having swept over the territory, it is not strange that Mr. Porter's book is a necessity and a revelation. It is a necessity, for Yankees really required a guide-book to the place. It is a revelation, for it shows how much of Old Boston has survived, disfigured and dismantled, but still discernible and instructive. His care and patience have been well seconded by the pencil of his artist. We can now at our leisure realize the appearance of colonial Boston, and, if we please, can still visit and examine the glories of the past.

It would be useless to try to enumerate the interesting topics discussed in this volume. The author pursues no set plan of peregrination, but strays here and there, noting every picturesque dwelling and setting down the names of departed worthies. From Sir William Phips to Henry Ward Beecher, from Cotton Mather to Josiah Quincy, from the earliest generation to the present time, something is everywhere gleaned to illustrate his subject. It is a genuine result of enthusiasm tempered by discretion; and while it will amuse every reader for an hour, it also preserves matters rapidly falling into oblivion, and merits a place among the works of our standard historians.

The Pharaohs of the Bondage and the Exodus. By Rev. Charles S. Robinson, D.D. The Century Co. 1887.

THESE lectures, delivered in the Madison Avenue Church, New York, contain a number of interesting details in connection with the recent Egyptian discoveries of Maspero, Brugsch, Naville, Mr. Flinders Petrie, and others, and are so far useful. It is to be regretted that

the author has not treated the material in a larger way. His whole interest is theological, and his theology is sectarian. He has no feeling for the grand civilization of old Egypt, and no conception of its higher religious and ethical ideas. He looks on the monuments merely as material for illustrating what he thinks to be the ancient history of the Israelites, which he supposes to be given in the Pentateuch without admixture of legend. His judgment of Egyptian personages is wholly determined by their fancied relation to the Jews. The legendary daughter of Pharaoh, who is said to have adopted Moses as her son, excites his warmest interest, while for Seti I. he can find no adjectives harsh enough to characterize his career; and it evidently has never occurred to him that those same adjectives are virtually applied to King David in the Old Testament narrative. In the same spirit he quotes those Old Testament prophecies against Egypt which he thinks have been fulfilled, and says nothing of those, such as Isaiah xix, 25, which have obviously never been fulfilled. It is a pity that this little volume, so admirably printed and designed for popular reading, should thus ignore the principles of historical criticism. The author, in fact, regards the modern Biblical criticism as an attack on the Christian religion (page 38), which is both a misrepresentation of criticism and treason against Christianity.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott-Halliday. Henry Ward Beecher: A Sketch of his Career, with Incidents and Reminiscences of his Life. New ed. Hartford: American Publishing Co. As Common Mortals: A Novel. Cassell & Co. 50 cents. Beckett, O. H. Who is John Norman? Cassell & Co. \$1. Benham, Rev. W. The Dictionary of Religion: An Encyclopedia of Christian and Other Religious Doctrines, Denominations, Sects, etc. Cassell & Co. \$5. Bolmer, Rev. W. B. The Church and the Faith: A Philosophical History of the Catholic Church. E. & J. B. Young & Co. \$3. Butler, H. E. Solar Biology: A Scientific Method of Delineating Character, &c. Illustrated. Boston: Esoteric Publishing Co. Cooper, Susan Fenimore. Rural Hours. New ed. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25. Dawson, G. F. Life and Services of Gen. John A. Logan, as Soldier and Statesman. Belford, Clarke & Co. \$3. Enault, L. Le Chien du Capitaine. W. R. Jenkins. 25 cents. Haggard, H. R. Dawn. Harper & Brothers. Haggard, H. R. She: A History of Adventure. Harper & Brothers. Heard, A. F. The Russian Church and Russian Dissent. Harper & Brothers. Hugo, V. Les Misérables. Première Partie. Fantine. W. R. Jenkins. \$1.

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